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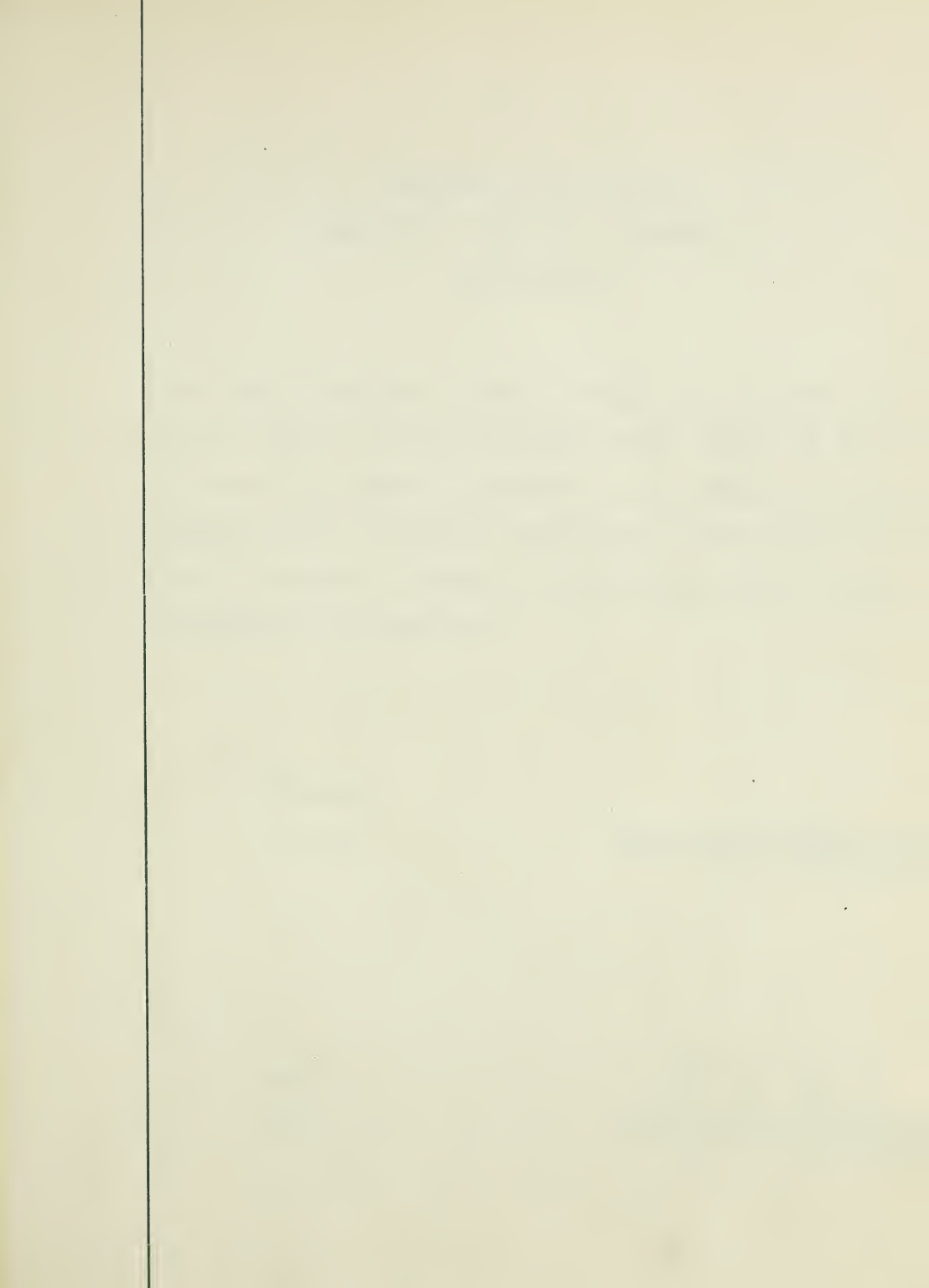
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FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
(DIVINITY)

We, the undersigned, hereby certify that we have read the within thesis entitled "MODERN SOCIAL ISSUES IN THE LIGHT OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS" submitted by Rev. George Milledge Tuttle, B.A., in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and we hereby recommend its acceptance.

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MODERN SOCIAL ISSUES
IN THE LIGHT OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS

A dissertation
submitted to the B. D. Committee of the
Senate of the University of Alberta
in candidacy for the degree of
Bachelor of Divinity

by

George Milledge Tuttle

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The story is told of a South American Indian woman who received a cheque from a missionary for whom she had performed a service. Not knowing its real value, but desiring to keep it for sentimental reasons, the native woman had the cheque framed and hung on the wall -----then lived on in poverty. Some time later a friend noticed the curio and explained its purpose. The cheque was promptly cashed to the benefit of the whole family.

This is a parable of modern life. Our generation has received the forms of Christianity; but the forms have often seemed without value for the serious business of living ----- so we live on in poverty of spirit.

One ought not merely to mourn the fact, but should seek to understand the reason for our present state of mind. Even though religious words like "sin" and "God" and "redemption" have lost meaning, most people still frankly acknowledge that they are in terrible need of a faith which will stand them in good stead. Even the boldest in this brave new world admit as much; for bravery has proven itself only a shallow optimism insufficient for the day. While weaker ones have chosen to go the way of despair (and they shall have their reward), there are others who have forsaken their previous carefree attitudes in favor of seeking surer footing on firmer ground.

In times like these, of course, there is always a demand for something new and spectacular. Witness the search for thrills which lift people to momentary heavens, only to let them fall to earth with a thud. Among even the most serious-minded folk this same desire for the spectacular is exemplified by the oft-repeated question concerning a writer or lecturer: "Did he say anything new, anything different?"

In a searching little book entitled "Real Life is Meeting", J. H. Claham faces up to this attitude----- where men acknowledge their need for faith but suppose that they must look for something new:

The realities which condition man's life do not change. To recall them is not to say anything new or startling. The real difficulty is that men have for so long lost their hold on these elementary truths that their meaning has to a large extent leaked away. We talk about them; we think we understand them. But the words we use about them are empty and unconvincing..... we are on a false track, therefore, if we are looking for something new to say. Society cannot be saved by words, nor by ideas received and communicated at a merely intellectual level. Our task is the far more difficult one of rediscovering *in* experience and action a meaning that has been lost. The elemental realities of existence must enter into and possess our entire being, so that they exert their power not through what we say but through what we are (1)

There can be no Christian handling of social issues without appreciation for the real meaning of the Christian faith. We must be persuaded that Christian language is

(1) Real Life is Meeting by J.H. Claham P. 13

more than worn out symbols, more than jargon, but is actually a vehicle for real and abiding truths about life. If there is the slightest feeling that we can give a familiar nod to the old phrases by way of courtesy while passing on to "more important practical questions", then we are open to frustration in any effort at a Christian approach to social issues. Therefore, our first purpose is to examine the Christian ground for ethical behaviour. Chapters I to IV are devoted to this examination.

A second purpose is to investigate the general framework within which day-to-day social problems may be tackled. It is perhaps a natural tendency to treat a given social problem in isolation. Apart from their wider connections, for example, the race issue or the liquor problem may be wrongly understood and fanatically dealt with. We need a larger perspective.

If, therefore, we seem to ignore questions usually regarded as major social problems, it is only in order that we may clarify the wider context within which they may be properly considered. Hence, in Chapters V and VI we deal with two of the "great associations", so named by the sociologists: first the political and then the economic.

In all the more complex societies the organizations of the political and economic order become the comprehensive framework of the social structure..... neutral means to which all other interests may be pursued. Consequently, given the technological basis of communication, they are capable of unlimited expansion. Together they constitute the great mechanism which men must use to obtain the objects of their desire. In their development they establish great forms of social order which both liberate and limit the expression of all our primary interests. (1)

The political and economic functions are means to human well-being, never ends in themselves. We study them separately, though it is not possible to draw hard and fast lines between them. Wages and working conditions for example, may be determined in part by economic agencies and in part by political regulation. The distinction is not between spheres of activity but between methods of action. The economic is usually one of competing forces; the political method has a unifying and therefore an anti-competitive interest. But both provide that background so necessary either to understand or to deal with social problems which appear at the level of man's primary interests: family life, group associations and so forth. It should also be noted that the discussion of these matters is limited to the situation in Western industrial society. A vastly different picture would be drawn for China or India.

It is stated above that the associations of political and economic orders are capable of unlimited expansion. Recognition of this fact, and its conscious direction along creative lines, is the single greatest concern for mankind today. The concepts of the State and the nation confront us with a strange contradiction. They are the greatest instruments of national security and personal liberty; yet they are also the greatest menace through involvement in war. This renders the problem of world order the most pressing of all modern social issues; made especially urgent by scientific advances in swift communication and atomic fission. In Chapter VII we consider first the general trend toward world order and then the role of the Church in this respect.

THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF MAN: A PARADOXICAL BEING

Chapter I

THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF MAN: A PARADOXICAL BEING

Christian ethics can be understood only in the light of Christian theology systematically treated. In a comprehensive work it would be well first to state one's theological position, and then describe the ethical principles based thereon; but within our limited space a full discussion of theology is prohibited. However, we are not prevented from making a brief statement about the assumptions which underlie all our ethical references. Since every system of thought and experience is founded upon certain assumptions, our first task is to acknowledge these.

Where shall we cut into the pie?---- with what part of the whole shall we begin? It makes little difference in the final analysis, for if Christian theology be systematically conceived, then any one part of the system ultimately involves the whole. But there is wisdom in starting at a point which quickly leads to ethical considerations. We shall begin therefore with the Christian view of man.

When the Dean of St. Paul's, W.R. Matthews, gave a series of wartime addresses over the B. B. C., he chose the subject: "What is Man?". (1) He declared this the most

(1) What is Man by W.R. Matthews (James Clarke & Co.)

fundamental of all questions we can ask, a question which every intelligent person puts to himself sooner or later. Dr. Matthews later commented: "Long after men have ceased to ask, 'Who will win the war?' they will still be asking, 'What is man?'" The study of man comes naturally to us; it immediately catches our interest. But this very theme, the study of ourselves, strangely carries us beyond our own inner consciousness, beyond even the physical, social and cultural environment to the ultimate questions of time and eternity. It presses us on to consider the nature of reality. Not that man himself is the measure of all things. Rather, in him the riddle of the universe is brought to focus. Hence, any attempt to explain the universe must at the same time be an explanation of man; and vice versa. Every ideology must in fact be an anthropology.

In the Christian view, man is a creature who lives on two planes. He lives most obviously on the plane of time, event and history. Yet his experience bears testimony to another and higher level of existence, the eternal order. Various phrases have been employed to express the notion: temporal and eternal, earthly and heavenly, the natural and the spiritual world. What philosophy renders in terms of "being and becoming", religion speaks of as "God and the world". However described, the substantial experience is the same. We are tied here; we yearn for

the beyond. Our sojourn is earthly; our destiny is marked out in heaven (to use religious terminology). And most fundamental: with all our cunning we cannot shut off the one from the other.

Whither shall I go from thy spirit?
Or whither shall I flee from thy presence?
..... My substance was not hid from thee
when I was made in secret.....
How precious also are thy thoughts unto me, O God !
How great is the sum of them.....
Search me, O God, and know my heart;
Try me and know my thoughts. (1)

I fled Him, down the nights and down the days;
I fled Him down the arches of the years;
I fled Him down the labyrinthine ways
Of my own mind; and in the midst of tears
I hid from Him and under running laughter.
.....
Halts by me that footfall:
Is my gloom after all,
Shade of His hand, outstretched caressingly? (2)

For the record it should be noted that experience of this sort implicitly holds a conception of God who is at once transcendent and immanent. Otherwise there can be no living connection between the two planes of experience, between God and the world, or any sense that man's destiny reaches beyond the temporal order. This theological position we acknowledge, without elaboration, as basic to our whole position.

Let us consider further what happens to this creature man. Soren Kierkegaard defined man as the synthesis

(1) From Psalm 139

(2) The Hound of Heaven by Francis
Thompson

of time and eternity. Then he proceeded to show how men shift back and forth between the two as between two poles of their nature. He is attracted by one, then ^adrawn toward the other. Neither alone can satisfy his inmost need as man. If either could, then he would cease to be the distinctive creature man. He must live with these two principles of his nature held in tension, thus marking his life by self-contradiction and paradox. It is this inner division that is exploited in the writings of Dostoevsky. It is the ground also for all experience of tragedy, the fact that man is higher than the animals but a little lower than the angels.

What is the Christian interpretation of all this? What about a Christian anthropology? J.S. ~~Wale~~ sets it forth briefly according to three principles: First, man is God's creature. His creatureliness may be an inescapable fact; but he is lifted above other creatures by having been made in the image of God, and by virtue of his awareness of that fact. He knows that somehow he has been called into existence in order that he may willingly respond to the creator's purposes. He is responsible to God. Emil Brunner labels it man's "addressability" or "answerability", since it does not refer to something which man has to do: it is not in the first instance a task to perform in response to a demand, but a "yes" to "I have

created and called thee; thou art mine". As the Westminster Confession declares, the chief end of man is to glorify God and enjoy Him forever. Man is meant for fellowship with God.

The second principle of Christian anthropology recognizes man's denial of his distinctive endowment as a creature made in God's image. The one who was made for fellowship with the Creator is estranged from his maker. He thus falls below all other creatures by repudiating an opportunity which belongs to him alone. In religious language: he is a sinner. And if we follow the implications of Brunner's position stated above, or catch the spirit of the Westminster Confession, sin does not refer to a broken moral law but to a broken fellowship. Its roots are set in man's self-certainty and pride. He usurps the place of God. The famous psychologist, Jung, had his own word for it: the "Godalmightiness" of man.

Observe that we have been speaking of man in the corporate sense, and not of men as individuals. This suggests the third central thought in Christian anthropology. While sin has individual manifestations, and is known only through individual consciousness, the real nature of sin is never exhaustively described through individual references. The lives of men are so intimately bound together that even sin presents itself in solidary aspect, "in each the work of all; in all the work of each", to use Schleiermacher's phrase

Dostoevsky says that in view of the reality of sin the solidarity of the race is a terrible fact: "we are each responsible for all to each". And Augustine felt the weight of what he called the "sinful mass". J.S. Whale carries the notion right into fields recently investigated by certain schools of psychology:

The work which psychologists are now doing on "the collective unconscious" goes to show that below not only the conscious, but also the unconscious life of the individual, there is a deep layer (as it were) of hidden, inborn forces: its content is not individual but universal and, as such, beyond the conscious control of the will. In speaking thus, psychology is only confirming the witness of the New Testament, that humanity is subject to possession or infection by evil from which no individual can dissociate himself. (1)

Here then is the empirical fact of universal evil; Kant's "das radikale Böse". But how is it to be accounted for? The question confronts all classes of thinkers. Certain of the philosophers have tried to account for its source in a merely negative principle in the universe which man must overcome. Their thought is illustrated by the figure of a hurdler surmounting the jumps on the race-track, yet unable to clear them all. Anthropologists have tried to explain sin as an evolutionary survival from man's animal origin. But neither of these views gives a satisfactory account of the moral content of sin and the experience of guilt which implies man's own responsibility.

Indeed, any rational explanation of human sin necessarily exhibits a determinist character, no matter how refined, thus ruling out freedom and responsibility. Determine the cause of a moral fact and it ceases to be moral, since morality presupposes freedom in the sense of real choice. It is the universal experience of personal responsibility and guilt which drives us to assume man's freedom and consequently to acknowledge his sin as an irrational fact. It cannot be explained; it can only be expressed.

The Christian attempt to express the universal experience of freedom in the face of the universal fact of sin is found in the doctrine of the Fall. It is an irrational conception, since no rational category can contain the issue. It is mythological, having the splendid force of myth when treated as such, but defeating its own intention when treated as literal history, which latter has brought the doctrine into disrepute. The idea of man's fall from an original perfect state in Paradise is a necessary account of man's double consciousness: his 'memory' of a divinely intended quality of life along with his feeling of guilt. He knows he was made for fellowship with the eternal, yet he constantly denies it by his life. Here are the grounds for the continuing feud between the Creature and the Creator.

Rebellious man lives a terrifying life, for the world

remains God's world and he remains God's creature. His alienation from God makes him feel an outcast and a wanderer in a far country. He can deny but not destroy his endowment as a spiritual being; he can mar but not efface the divine image stamped upon him. He cannot feel at home in his father's world; yet because he is still God's creature, he must adhere to conditions of life in that world or be destroyed. Life which could have been lived in harmony with God is experienced now under God's harsh demand, "the curse of the law". What might have been imparted from God in love is by man's own choice exercised in wrath. His bolt for freedom has rendered him prisoner in a weary land. He wistfully remembers the paradise and home which once were his. A word from Nicolas Berdyaev:

The problem of man is utterly insoluble if man be considered merely as a part of nature and correlative to it. He can only be interpreted through his relation to God; he can only be understood through the higher and not through the lower. Consequently, it is only the religious consciousness that has really tried to grapple with the problem of man. All theological doctrines deal with it. There exists no philosophical anthropology in the true sense of the term, but there has always been a religious anthropology. The Christian teaching is that man is a being created by God in His image and likeness, free, but through his freedom fallen away from God, and in his fallen and sinful state receiving from God grace that saves and regenerates him.(1)

(1)The Destiny of Man by Nicolas Berdyaev (Centenary Press) P. 46

ETHICS OF LAW AND ETHICS OF GRACE

Chapter II

ETHICS OF LAW AND ETHICS OF GRACE

We have already suggested that man's kinship with God is felt in terms of demand upon his life. And he knows it is no strange demand. As Paul Tillich says in "The Interpretation of History":

The demand which man receives is unconditioned, but it is not strange to him. If it were strange to his nature, it would not concern him; he could not perceive it as a demand on him. It strikes him only because it places before him in the form of a demand, his own essence.

But the demand, which was intended to be answered by a "Yes" to God's love, now presents itself as something to "do" in response to God's command exercised in wrath. Good and evil are set over against each other. Everywhere man turns, decisions have to be made; to ignore them is at the same time to make them. There is no escape from decision and action, and no escape from their consequences. It becomes a duty to seek the will of God and act accordingly. His will is made known through the mutual process of divine revelation and human discovery. But, to fallen man, the way it opens is always that of the moral law: the things one must do and the things from which he must refrain. This is what we mean when we say that man lives under the ethics of law.

Legalistic ethics exhibits itself in both religious and secular forms. Its religious form is to be seen in

pharisaism, perhaps the highest level of religious and moral life attained by the Jewish people. Its secular form is found in the good citizen of unimpeachable character who abides by all the laws of the land. At first glance one would say that under the law life reaches its highest expression; but there are hidden difficulties.

In the first place, the ethics of law ignores the individual in favour of the group or society as a whole. It is always social, whether religious or secular. Society determines the rules, which rules are ethical norms universally binding. Everyone must fulfil its requirements. All that matters to the law, as law, is the extent to which individuals succeed or fail in their obligation to adhere to the regulations. No allowance can be made for individual differences of personality or the variety of conditions under which people actually live. True, in criminal law some account is taken of so-called "extenuating circumstances" as, for example, when a man commits a crime under emotional stress. But these allowances only emphasize the point that when individual circumstances are considered the law is set aside in part or in the whole. Where law is applied, its application is universal. The privileged and the handicapped are alike in the eyes of the law. This is true of legalistic ethics at any level: the laws of the land, social custom, canon

law and moral law.

Along with its ignorance of the individual, legalistic ethics ignores the inner life in favour of outward acts. It deals with surface facts. Perhaps it will be argued that the proper use of criminal law, for example, sometimes does deal with the inner life by "establishing the motive for the crime". But in these cases motive is taken into account only to establish the certainty of the overt criminal act so that proper punishment may be administered. The inner fact subserves an external end. The same is true for social mores or the moral law. It is the outward act which counts regardless of motive or intention; it determines the standing of a person in the community or church, and it is the governing factor in social relations. Law cannot deal with the evil motive which does not issue in an act of disobedience; nor can it recognize the good intention which is buried under circumstance. No social norms, written or unwritten, can touch the inner, intimately personal, unique life of the individual.

Another difficulty: following its own inherent logic, the ethics of law inevitably sets up supreme goods by which everyone is to be judged and brought into line. In civil life, we may cite the flag and the required salute as a symbol of loyalty; in church life, acceptance of a creed or observance of the Sabbath. These are, in truth,

good. It is in their legalistic interpretation where harm is done; for then they are set above all other values. In the ethics of law, even human beings must be sacrificed on the altar of the supreme good. Why did Paul of Tarsus persecute the first Christians? He did so to preserve the strict observance of the Jewish law. And in a later generation, the Church perpetrated the worst forms of cruelty to preserve souls from hell by forcing the acceptance of a creed.

The most telling criticism of the ethics of law is this: it proves, by experience, impotent to deal with man's most fundamental problem---- the fact of his sin and the need for restoration to God's fellowship. Try as they may, men find the way of the law incapable of lifting the burden of guilt or freeing them from the power of sin. They still need "at-one-ment" with God. Not only so, but the moral law is deceiving in this respect, for it so easily persuades one that fulfilment of God's demands would surely accomplish the necessary restoration. It turns out to be a false hope. He becomes like the person who is so heavily in debt that current earnings are only enough to cover the interest thereon; he pays the dues faithfully, but can never get beyond the business relationship to one of pure friendship with his creditor. The analogy must not be carried too far. It merely suggests that man's basic problem, his broken relationship

with God, is not mended even by adhering as best he can to God's demands. Let Berdyaev sum up the matter:

The law neither cares about the individual's life nor gives him strength to fulfil the good which it requires of him. This is the essential contradiction of the ethics of law..... the law is necessary for the sinful world and cannot simply be cancelled. But it must be overcome by a higher force; the world and man must be freed from the impersonal power of the law. (1)

It is a strange paradox when something manifestly good must be fought without compromise. Yet that is exactly the case which Jesus had against the Pharisees. He placed publicans and sinners above the Pharisees, the unclean above the clean, those who had not fulfilled the law above those who had. The very prostitutes are closer to God's Kingdom. Why? Because they know the true measure of their sin as separation from God. They acknowledge the power of sin. They are therefore fertile soil for the true seed of salvation----- the grace of God.

Christian faith and experience declares that what man finds necessary to the fulfilment of his destiny but is incapable of doing for himself, that God does. Human extremity is always God's opportunity. Man's supreme need is for reconciliation with his Maker; his destiny lies in fellowship with God. But we have seen that the relationship is not in fact restored by meeting the moral demands of God, even in meticulous fashion. Nothing man has to offer, whether of his substance or of

himself, can accomplish his redemption. If he is to experience salvation at all, it cannot be of his own doing. That is the bitter conclusion of those who have struggled to achieve through the way of moral law. It is the central insight of Christian faith that in the face of human helplessness God spoke a new word in the figure of Christ. God again took the initiative; he came to man in a man, as one ready to share the fate of the world through suffering, declaring forgiveness full and free. The creature who has proven unacceptable to God has in fact been accepted by God. The undeserving has been given the status he so terribly needs. All other requirements are set aside: the only condition is that a man accept the bare fact that he is accepted. To the uninitiated, all this will appear a meaningless mystery, but to those who have been called into Christian experience it is both wisdom and power. Passages from the hymns and scripture crowd to mind:

Not the labours of my hands
Can fulfil thy laws demands;
.....
All for sin could not atone:
Thou must save, and Thou alone. (1)

God commendeth His love toward us, in that, while
we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.....
where sin abounded, grace did much more abound. (2)

Plenteous grace with thee is found,
Grace to cover all my sin;

Let the healing streams abound;
Make and keep me pure within. (3)

If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature....
.....God was in Christ, reconciling the world
unto himself. (4)

The Apostle Paul saw and felt these things on the background of a supreme effort to find satisfaction by way of the law. His dismal failure in that way only served to heighten his sense that the way of God's grace was good news in ~~the~~ truth. What a strange condition for renewal; "nothing in my hands I bring". It was incredible but true.

There are many religions which know no divine welcome to the sinner until he has ceased to be one. They would first make him righteous, and then bid him welcome to God. But God in Christ first welcomes him, and so makes him penitent and redeems him. The one demands newness of life; the other imparts it. The one demands human righteousness as the price of divine atonement; the other makes atonement in order to evoke righteousness. Christianity brings man to God by bringing God to man. The glory of the Gospel is the free pardon of God, offered to all who will receive it in humble faith. (5)

The state of grace exhibits its own peculiar ethic, distinct from the ethics of law. We are in a position now briefly to examine its nature. The most noticeable feature of Gospel morality is its sheer energy. It is based on a heightening of powers through the gracious activity of God. In psychological terms we might

(3) From a hymn by Charles Wesley. (4) II Cor. 5:17-19
(5) Christian doctrine by J.S. Whale (Cambridge University Press) P. 78-79

speak of "released energy". Its demonstration by first century Christians led bystanders to suppose that the followers of the Nazarene consumed a new and very potent liquor. The Acts of the Apostles abound in energy: and every great period in the history of the Church has been marked by powers newly felt. The true life in Christ is characteristically dynamic.

Christian experience always identifies God as the source of the new life in man. These powers come from on high. He is the source of impulses to ethical behaviour. The moral life is no longer a struggle to perform good works as under the law. On the contrary, good works are the glad offering of one who lives in the Spirit:

The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace,
longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith
meekness, temperance. (1)

We love because he first loved us. (2)

The first-named of the fruits of the Spirit is love, Love is the primary ethical quality of the Christian life. We shall examine its character more closely in a chapter to follow. Let one question suffice for the moment: Does the principle of love surmount the difficulties we have discovered in the ethics of law? The chief weakness of the latter, it has been pointed out, is its failure to

(1) Galations 5: 22-23

(2) I John 4: 19

restore man to God's fellowship when it would seem so sensible a means for that very purpose. The principle of love obviates the difficulty, for Christian love is conceived as the outcome of redemption rather than its means. It is not expressed by the natural man on this side of redemption but by the new man on the other side of the redemptive experience.

Another major problem we cited in connection with legalistic ethics is its tendency to establish universally binding norms. Can Christian love be regarded as a social norm requiring legalistic emulation from the individual and tyrannical application in society? The answer must again be in the negative when we look at the nature of love. Love is a response to its own kind, never the result of regulation, whether by personal effort from within or by coercive force from without. Enforced love is a contradiction in terms.

The supreme good, the ultimate norm in the ethics of law, is replaced in Gospel ethics by a Personality on the Godward side and a personal relationship on the manward side. The test-question put to Jesus arose from a legal interest: "Which is the greatest commandment?" Surely the answer would distinguish a norm. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great

commandment. And the second is like unto it: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself". (1) Neither is obeyed as the law is obeyed. The first is a response to the grace of God; the second is the fruit of the Spirit, which is the work of God's grace.

On its human side the ethics of grace puts man in the center. Abstract normative law must give way to human interests. Man, and not the good, is the basis of ethical judgment. This was the new normality proclaimed by Jesus when he was challenged on the Sabbath: "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath". (2) He declared the issue to rest not on the abstract notion "Sabbath" to which people were enslaved, but rather on a consideration of man's peculiar needs. Love for man always means something of the sort; it is never mere emotion. Here is the only sound humanism.

Note finally that Christian love can never be exercised in the abstract. We speak easily of loving mankind; but this has no meaning apart from love for concrete persons in a real-life situation. So stern is the New Testament on this point that even one's claim to love God is given the concrete test: "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not

(1) Matt. 22: 36-39 (2) Mark 2: 27

his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" (1) The principle forces one to consider the individual in his setting. Thus, in opposition to legalistic ethics, the ethics of grace assumes that every moral problem requires its own peculiar solution.

We have contrasted the ethics of grace and of law. The one supersedes the other, but does not do away with it. "Think not that I am come to destroy the law", said Jesus, "I am come not to destroy **but** to fulfil." (2) Law can never disappear from a sinful world. Law and grace co-exist; and, as we shall presently endeavour to show, they both have important social implications. Our purpose in thus distinguishing them is to avoid a confusion which all too often has attended the application of Chrisitan ethics to social problems.

(1) I John 4: 20

(2) Matt. 5: 17

THE SOCIAL GOSPEL AND THE KINGDOM OF GOD

Chapter III

THE SOCIAL GOSPEL AND THE KINGDOM OF GOD

An intelligent discussion of social issues in the light of Christian ethics requires some reference to an ~~em~~phasis in Christian thought and activity known as the "social gospel". For good or ill the social gospel has profoundly affected every phase of the Church's life: its preaching, its worship, its missionary endeavour and its approach to political and economic questions. It has been a deep-seated movement with an observable history. Charles H. Hopkins has performed a vital service in tracing the story. (1)

Within the American scene, Hopkins goes back to the year 1865 in his study of the manifestations of social Christianity. He finds in that period a religious atmosphere exhibiting four distinct emphases: 1) A conventional, orthodox, complacent Protestantism which could not or would not take account of social problems as such. 2) A few enlightened conservatives who were wrestling with the problems created for theology by the new sciences, including the science of sociology which was confronted with the needs of an industrialized society. 3) A strain of evangelical hope and fervor which had motivated the attack on slavery and intemperance a few years before and was still a powerful force in some sections of the

(1) The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism by
Charles H. Hopkins

church. 4) A left-wing type of rational philosophy, predominantly Unitarian, which challenged both the assumptions and the ethics of orthodox conservatism.

From the very outset, the challenge centered about a re-interpretation of the Kingdom of God. In 1865 Edward Beecher denounced the traditional view of a purely spiritual kingdom and declared that the Church was ordained for the ultimate purpose of bringing "civil government, the state, commerce, political economy, the arts and sciences, and the schools, under the influence of God". (2) While there never was a complete black-out of orthodox views, it was this sort of statement which carried the day. By the 1880's the movement was taking conscious shape, and the ideal of the kingdom of God as a terrestrial possibility was making its appeal felt far and wide. Witness a characteristic statement of the period on the part of William E. Dodge:

The times call for an applied Christianity that can meet all the needs and relations of man to man. It cannot remain merely defensive, and must prove its adaptiveness to all needs and all conditions. The full brotherhood of men under one Father and in one household must be its watchword, with a meaning never known before. (3)

It was a mixed company who joined to proclaim the new gospel. Figures like Co. Robert G. Ingersoll and Henry George were berating a socially ineffective Protestantism,

(2) Ibid P. 19

(3) As reported by Hopkins, Ibid, P. 50.

while Horace Bushnell was endeavouring to enunciate a new theology whose central doctrine declared a living Incarnation, active in all the processes of life. The general trends of thought were being clarified as follows:

- a) Reaction from the traditional otherworldly and individualistic outlook.
- b) Fresh emphasis on the social and humanitarian aspects of the commandment to "love thy neighbour as thyself".
- c) Efforts to develop techniques of applying the law of love to complicated social questions.
- d) Search for ethical norms in the teachings of Jesus; also in the Old Testament.
- E) Salvation defined within a moral frame of reference.
- f) The ultimate social ideal-----the Kingdom of God.
- g) The Church must lead in a new social crusade.

By the 1890's the social gospel had come of age. It had come to terms with the new sciences; it had taken a leading part in Church councils; it had even made successful overtures to the rising labour movement. Hundreds of names are linked with a stream of books, pamphlets and sermons of the time. We note some of their characteristic statements:

The object of Christianity is human welfare; its method is character-building; its process is evolution; and the secret of its power is God.

(Lyman Abbott)

The immanence of Christ, the vital unity of the race, the presence of the kingdom---these truths give to life a new sacredness and to duty a new cogency. (Washington Gladden)

The world in this sociological age needs a new social ideal to direct the progress of civilization. Let the Church fully accept her mission and she will furnish this needed ideal, viz., her Master's conception of the kingdom of God come upon earth. (Josiah Strong)

We aim to enthrone Christliness as the dominant

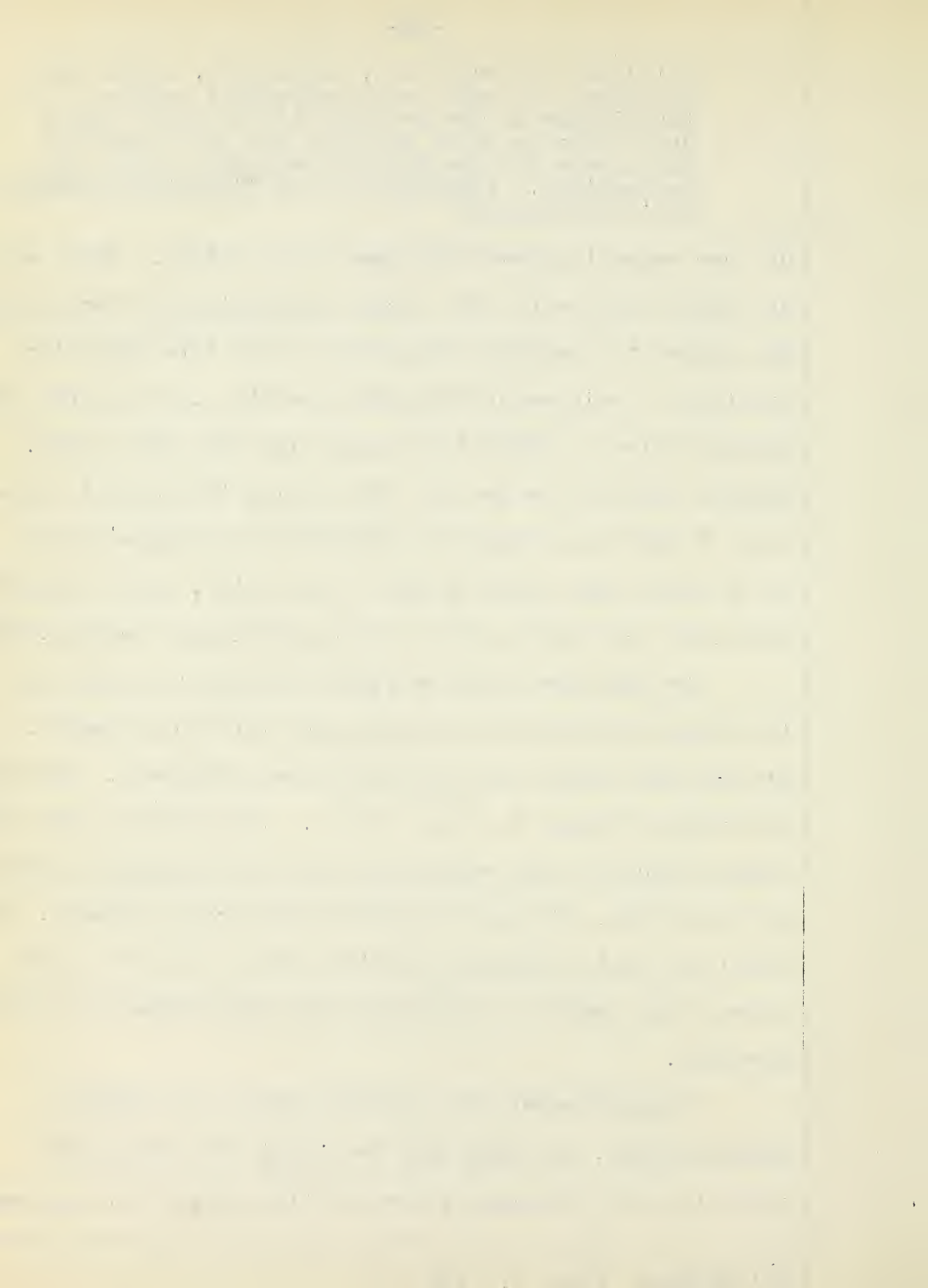
principle in industrial, commercial, social and political, as well as in individual action----- the Kingdom of God on Earth is the right Social Order wherein every one gets the full reward of his labour and the fullest enjoyment of all his possessions. (pamphlet of the "Christian Workingmen's Institute")

One can sense the prevailing mood of the times. There was an earnest desire for the social expressions of Christianity. Men wanted to translate Christian theory into Christian practice; a science of Christian society, in the words of Graham Taylor in 1899: "sociology with God left in it". Hopkins sums up the period: "The ruling theological ideology of the day accepted an evolutionary kingdom of God to be built upon earth by men of good will, such a kingdom being the end result of an almost inevitable progress." (2)

By the turn of the century the social gospel was the dominant note among thinking and influential people. It had been shaped through difference and debate. In its own turn, it began to shape events. Its devotees were no longer voices in the wilderness but the recognized leaders of civil life. The social gospel had become orthodox. The trend was still forward, but its leaders could now with safety turn inward to interpret the significance of their movement.

Unquestionably the greatest figure was Walter Rauschenbusch. He came upon the crest of a successful revolution in religious interpretation; yet in his personal

(2) Hopkins, Ibid, P. 121



life and work was drawn through practical experiences which burned the sense of need for a social gospel into his very soul. He thus became at once the prophet of social righteousness and the arch interpreter of a movement which was rapidly reaching its peak. His book published in 1907, "Christianity and the Social Crisis" brought Rauschenbusch into prominence after years of pastoral work in slum areas of New York, study, writing and teaching. His book of prayers published in 1910 testified to his deeply religious basis for social outlook. So profoundly did he feel the need for adequate religious grounding for any social movement, that this became the theme for his last and perhaps greatest book: "A Theology for Today". Rauschenbusch was sensitive to a danger which indeed overtook the movement he loved-----a subtle humanizing of the gospel until its reliance upon God was little more than a token one. Large numbers ultimately joined forces with secular political and social agencies. Those remaining within the fellowship of the Church saw the fruits of their labours in a few isolated experiments in Christian community living and in the establishment of Christian social service departments designed to keep a weather eye on political and economic life. These departments have performed a great task by keeping the public informed as to the Christian implications of political and economic conditions and by exercising pressure among private and public agencies for

a more just social order. It may also be argued that this great upsurge of concern for the social application of Christian principles produced a public opinion favorable to welfare activities as a responsibility of government.

Assessing the Social Gospel

Though Hopkins's analysis began with the year 1865, he would be the first to admit that the real roots of the social gospel reach down to scriptural soil. Biblical studies had revealed the prophets as men who fought in the social struggles of their own day, always on the side of the oppressed, always upholding the rights of the common poor against the tyrannical rich. Amos, Micah, Jeremiah and the rest became models for those in our time who seek to establish justice and righteousness in public life. Likewise, the modern approach to the New Testament revealed the historical Jesus, the man of Galilee who went about doing good, who loved the poor and hated any form of privilege. There can be little doubt that in matters of social justice Jesus set himself squarely in the tradition of the prophets. Jesus thus became the moral example, and the sole Christian duty was to follow in his footsteps and do as he did.

These ideas were not new, but they were brought out so clearly that they were like a breath of fresh air to Christians for whom religion seemed to have little

bearing on daily life. All the intricacies of theological doctrine could now be set aside as secondary; the entanglements of ritual worship could be ignored. Religion was taken from behind the cloisters onto the highway of life. Religion became practical. The dominant desire was to serve mankind at every point of human and material need, whether through one of the many forms of social service or through the more radical approach of changing the very structure of the social order. Whatever the means adopted, the goals of Christian citizenship were those of peace and plenty.

It was no difficult matter (as indeed it never is) to find scriptural support for the new movement. The literature of the social gospel highlighted passages like the following:

"What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, love mercy and walk humbly with thy God." (1)

"They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more". (2)

"Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place, that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth." (3)

(1) Micah 6: 8

(2) Isaiah 2: 4

(3) Luke 6: 20

"He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none; and he that hath meat, let him do likewise" (1)

"Blessed are ye poor for yours is the Kingdom of Heaven". (2)

"In Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek". (3)

The proponents of the social gospel performed a vital service in showing unmistakably that religion, certainly Christianity, cannot rightly be divorced from the actual conditions of men's lives. If some generations of Christians have erred in otherworldly pursuits, neglecting immediate relationships of man to man and nation to nation, this modern reappraisal of the Gospel certainly proved a good antidote. The Church will suffer great loss if these newly discovered values are allowed to disappear.

At the same time, it is our duty to see wherein the new mood went to extremes and with what unfortunate consequences. Perhaps the clearest evidence that something was amiss was the fact that so many who began assuredly to reform the world in the name of Christ became disillusioned and embittered. They started well but didn't have staying power; they ran out of enthusiasm. Nor was it just the fact of failure, but rather that these folk became tired failures ----- darkened spirits who had once held the light high. They are to be found amongst all ranks: ministers, politicians, teachers and social workers. And the contrast between them and the Peters and Pauls, the saints and mart-

yrs, is too obvious to overlook. From a practical standpoint the causes are evident in the one-sidedness of a religious outlook which concentrates almost solely on the acknowledged social objectives of Christian faith to the neglect of the spiritual means of Christian effort. Prayer and worship had been allowed to slip. The roots had been cut off. The wells of inspiration had run dry. However it may be described or accounted for, the fact is that thousands were alienated from God in their very desire to do his will. And now, many of the leaders and professional workers in the Christian cause (perhaps the more honest ones) have frankly recognized their spiritual plight and quit their jobs for other "socially useful" work by which they may at the same time support their families more adequately. Meanwhile, hosts of the common folk are as sheep without a shepherd.

Why should Christians, honestly persuing Christian objectives, thus be disillusioned? Answers to questions of this sort can only be suggested by a discovery of flaws in the basic assumptions of the proponents of the social gospel. One could approach this subject theologically, by examining the inadequacies of an over-emphasis on immanence in the doctrine of God. He could also attack the question from the standpoint of the nature of man, demonstrating the exceeding sinfulness of sin and the inevitable crash of human systems. The social gospel exhibited a

a naive and unfounded optimism in regard to man. But we shall tackle this at still another point: the conception of the Kingdom of God.

The Kingdom of God

We have already pointed out the impossibility of dealing with modern social issues without reference to the social gospel. The same may be said for the Christian notion of the Kingdom of God. John Baptist announced the coming of a new Kingdom, and a major share of Jesus' teaching centers on the nature of the Kingdom of God. No one doubts that, in the Christian view of society, both the human objective and the divine intention are expressed in terms of the Kingdom of God ---- the reign of God. But we run into difficulty in trying to determine the nature of the Kingdom. When, where and how is it to be established? These questions have exercised Christian thinkers from the very beginning. At least four different positions have been held:

1. The early Church (up to the end of the 3rd. Century) was devoted to the idea of an earthly Kingdom which would be established in the very near future, at the second coming of our Lord. There was to be a visible reign of complete righteousness in which the saints would administer a society based on love and justice until the last judgment.
2. When the expected leader did not appear in visible fashion and, when the Church was finally adopted by the temporal powers in the days of Emperor Constantine, there was a tendency to forget the former hope and accept the actually existing order of society as the Kingdom. The status quo is the Kingdom, a notion which did not die with those early centuries.

3. There have been periods when those of a mystical turn of mind held sway. They declared that the Kingdom already was in existence; not in this order, however, but wholly in the world of spirit.

4. Finally, there have always been those who hold that the Kingdom exists neither now ~~now~~ here, but will be inaugurated in the reign of God after a last judgment.

In the twentieth century there has been a clear-cut division. Some declare the Kingdom of which Jesus spoke to be a new order of society among men, established progressively by growing good will and by legislative means: re-distribution of the world's goods and services, measures of social security, enforcement of international law and the like. Others regard the Kingdom as some "far off divine event" or, as Ernest Thomas used to say, "a post-mortem state of experience". Now the social gospel lent itself to the former conception and rendered the latter suspect. At the same time, the apparent weaknesses of the social gospel have lead Christians again to examine the nature and meaning of this admittedly central and yet strangely elusive notion of the Kingdom of God.

Moderns have a feeling for historical accuracy. It is quite to be expected therefore that we should seek for the meaning of the Kingdom of God by tracing the history of the conception, and particularly, by trying to determine precisely what Jesus himself meant by the Kingdom. A supreme effort along this line was made by C.C. McCown in "The Genesis of the Social Gospel". He finds that in the

light of history Jesus' own conception of the Kingdom was shaped first by a cultural inheritance which included factors of climate, soil, nomadic experience, international entanglements, prophetic messages and apocalyptic hopes. Secondly, the actual situation in which he lived influenced Jesus' thought of the Kingdom. There was economic disparity between rich and poor; there were social distinctions in relation to birth and piety; there were innumerable religious sects and factions; and hopes for the future varied as between the Zealots who desired the overthrow of Roman domination and the Essenes who retreated to a monastic life. McCown concludes that the only satisfying message to Israel must offer some medicine for economic, political and social ills; and he holds that Jesus did actually propose a revolutionary solution. He finds no evidence for a purely transcendental view of the reign of God. Jesus used the language of the prophets and the psalmists. He accepted apocalyptic conceptions and acknowledged his role as messiah. And yet he brought a new interpretation to the office. The people looked for a violent over-throw of their Roman master; they expected annihilation of all evil and evil-doers; the poor and suffering were at last to escape their troubles. For his part, Jesus did not fall in line with all these aims. He even coun[^]selled submission to Rome. His Kingdom was a spiritual one in the truest sense. It was not one of earthly government or physical force. Even

though a product of social forces, it was purely inward and moral.

Jesus expected the reign of God here upon earth. The principles of conduct he enunciated were preparatory to a new life here..... they were his solution to the social problems of his people (1)

in this view, the teachings of Jesus realized in the heart inevitably affect outward social conditions. Moreover, it is essential that social conditions be altered if the ideals of Jesus are to gain ascendancy in the life of man. It works both ways. It is further held that since Jesus did not foresee conditions under modern democratic institutions, the burden of interpretation is upon us to determine our own responsibilities in the light of his principles.

F.C. Grant, in his Gospel of the Kingdom, likewise plays the part of historian. He finds that Jesus had to employ categories of thought which lay to hand, and that he chose these from the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms. His Kingdom was neither otherworldly, as interpreted by later generations, nor political, as inevitably understood by his messianic contemporaries. His doctrine was the purest form of theocracy:

Far from being purely transcendental and other-worldly, Jesus' conception of the Kingdom of God was, as far as we can make out from the basic tradition underlying the gospels, that of the Reign of God to be realized completely upon the soil of Palestine, the holy land. Its center was to be here, but its influence would reach to the ends of the earth..... It is an earthly Kingdom, Jewish--yet international in aim and purpose; acknowledging no King but God--yet diametrically opposed to all programs of violence

(1) The Genesis of the Social Gospel by C.C. McCowan (A.A. Knopf 1929) P. 328

like that of the Zealots; at basis a purely religious conception, unaffected by the political and social turmoil of the time ---yet (since Jesus' following was widespread) open to misinterpretation as a plan for revolution. (1)

The conclusions of McCown and Grant are similar. The Kingdom was Jesus' practical program for the problems of his day, indeed, for all times when rightly understood as a spiritual Kingdom.

In its own right, the historical approach is sound. It reveals truth. Yet one cannot help but feel that its truths are partial. It cannot comprehend the whole. History can describe the foundations, but cannot explain the emergence of that which is precisely new, whether it be the uniqueness of Jesus' personality or the new element in his teaching. The historians admit that while Jesus used the current categories of thought he filled them with new meaning; yet there is no real attempt to explain the source of the new.

New Testament scholars generally admit that apart from the resurrection experiences (however interpreted) there would be no Christian movement founded on the living Christ of faith, but only a memory of yet another in the long line of prophets. In other words, events after the death of Jesus have a controlling influence on our understanding of the meaning of Jesus' life. If this be the

(1) The Gospel of the Kingdom, F. C. Grant, P. 131

case, it is false to assume that Jesus own thought concerning the Kingdom should alone be determinative and that interpretations based on Christian faith and experience are to be pared away if we are to understnad the nature of the Kingdom of God. True, conceptions other than those held by Jesus crept into the accounts of his life by the Gospel writers and into the letters of Paul. But these form a legitimate part of a growing idea of the Kingdom which cannot arbitrarily be ignored in formulating our thought of the Kingdom.

Evidently the notion of the Kingdom does break the thought forms of any single period, and rightly demands re-statement to meet the needs of another. To acknowledge this fact is only to extend the logic of McCown's own thinking. For he assumes that if Jesus was to present a satisfactory solution of his nation's problems he must offer some medicine for its economic and social ills in this world. Later events proved the need for a fulfilment of the kingdom beyond the stage of history. An earthly kingdom of God, however spiritual, was no solution to those whose lives were frustrated by evil curcumstance and who were doomed to die without any sense of fulfilment of their destiny. But they did see just that necessary fulfilment in the notion of the Kingdom. If we are looking for categories for understanding the Kingdom we must turn to Christian experience--- the life of faith and devotion.

Christians have never been able to contain the Kingdom within the orbit of one idea. It always spills over into another contradictory thought. This seems at any rate to be the case in the New Testament presentation of the Kingdom. The Kingdom is here and now an inward possession: "The Kingdom of God is within you" (1) And yet it is also a future state: "Remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." (2) The Kingdom is to be realized in the world: "There be some standing here which shall not taste death, till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom." (3) But it belongs to another order of existence: "My Kingdom is not of this world". (4) Again, it is like something a man seeks for: "Like unto a man seeking goodly pearls" (5) yet it comes of divine giving rather than human endeavour: "It is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." (6)

In more than a hundred references to the Kingdom there is a mocking of any effort to tie it down. Weatherhead describes the outcome: "All your questions are evasions. Here is the Kingdom. Enter it now. There is the Kingdom; work for its coming. It is at once a heavenly and an earthly state. When you pray say, 'Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so in earth'." (7)

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- (1) Luke 17: 21
(2) Luke 23: 42
(3) Matt. 16: 18
(4) John 18: 36

- (5) Matt. 13: 45
(6) Luke 12: 32
(7) In Quest of a Kingdom by Leslie Weatherhead (Toronto: Hodder & Stroughton) P. 40.

We are thus thrust into the language of paradox in our interpretation of the Kingdom of God; our formula must be "both-and" in character. It is both here and there; both now and in the future. It is inward, but with external expressions. It is to be sought after as a prize, yet received as a gift.

Significance for Christian Ethics

In Chapter II we drew a distinction between the ethics of law and the ethics of grace. That distinction now comes to hand in determining the relationship between the gospel of the Kingdom and the social gospel. When we examine the ethical character of the Kingdom of God as portrayed in the New Testament we find reference to such qualities as humility, meekness, joy, forgiveness and compassion: all of them summed up in the greatest of Christian virtues, love. Now we have seen that Christian experience reckons these to be fruits of the Spirit. They have their origin in God's grace; so we have called them the ethics of grace. We must conclude then that the Kingdom of God, God's reign among men, is none other than an expansion of the ethics of grace.

While we have held that the ethics of grace are primary, they do not do away with the ethics of law. God still expresses himself in terms of demand as well as in the language of love. Men remain under obligation to regulate their lives in accordance with God's laws. The de-

mand for personal morality and social justice is still exercised. And destructive punishment is still due where justice is flaunted. Here is the ground for a message to society. The social gospel, properly understood, is an expansion of the ethics of law.

To draw a distinction between the Kingdom of God and the social gospel is by no means to suggest that they bear no relation to one another. Distinctions, in fact, depend on relationships. The notion of the Kingdom first of all gives to the social gospel its sanction. The coming of the Kingdom involves a mission to the social order; but that mission does not bring the Kingdom to fulfilment. Within the Christian scheme of the Kingdom of God the social gospel thus has its recognized limitations. Acknowledgement of this fact enables Christians to face defeat in their efforts to fashion a better social order without loss of hope.

A second important relation lies in the fact that the gospel of the Kingdom supplies the motive for the social gospel, it is one thing to sense God's demand for social justice; quite another to enter the lists for social justice, to give oneself without counting the cost. He who has experienced the grace of God is ready to accede to God's demand for service to society because he looks upon the world with compassion. Christian compassion has its source in the ethics of grace and its expression in the ethics of law.

The miscalculation in much social gospel thinking of

the last generation was the notion that the Christian aim in society is the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom was thus defined in terms of a social gospel. The fact, however, rests with the contrary. The social gospel has its proper setting within the Christian notion of the Kingdom of God.

Love and Justice

We have interpreted the social gospel as an expansion of the ethics of law. We must now point out that the ethical content of the social gospel is best described by the term justice. The gospel of the Kingdom, on the other hand, is an expression of the ethics of grace, whose primary virtue is love. Moreover, just as we have acknowledged that the social gospel and the gospel of the Kingdom bear important relations to one another, so we find a parallel relationship between justice and love. Says Emil Brunner:

The nature of justice is radically different from that of love, yet, deriving from one God, is very closely akin to it. The antithesis does not sever the bond between them, nor the bond annul the antithesis. (1)

According to Brunner, ^{Justice} requires that there be sur-rendered to each man his due, no more no less. Love gives a man not only his due, but in fact gives him more than he deserves. Justice is therefore quite rational, while love is irrational. Further, justice rests its case on the general dignity of man. It is not ^c concerned in any personal

way with particular human beings, but only with them in their relationships. Justice contemplates systems, each man receiving his rightful consideration within the system and no more than that. Love, on the other hand, is a mere show of feeling when directed toward the mass. It becomes concrete only in reference to this or that individual person. And since the person is higher than all the systems in which he is placed (the true aim of systems being to serve persons) love is higher than justice. Love is higher in the sense that it includes justice, goes beyond justice. Within the social systems which make up his life, the Christian must first be just; else he could give no effect to love.

Love can only do more, it can never do less, than justice requires. A citizen who falsifies his income-tax return in order to practice charity cannot appeal to love in exculpation; love of that kind is sheer sentimentality. True love is always more than just; it fulfils first the impartial law of actual justice. There is therefore no such thing as love at the cost of justice or over the head of justice, but only beyond justice and through justice. Love is always more than the recognition of the rights of a human being, but, for that very reason, it can never deny that the other has a right to this or that on the assumption that there can be no more talk of justice where love is. That is only true when the other has first got his rights, when he has been given his due, not out of compassion but out of justice. The labourer has a right to a just wage; he is therefore right to protest when the wage to which he has a right is offered to him as alms, as a gift of love. The real gift of love begins where justice has already been done, for it is that which is beyond justice. (1)

(1) Brunner, Ibid, p. 129

SOME PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION

Chapter 1V

SOME PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION

We have recognized that Christian love represents the ultimate relation God intends for his children. Christians love one another in response to his love. This is their foretaste of the Kingdom. At the same time we sense the commands of God, his demand for justice among men. Every man, regardless of whether or not he has entered the state of grace, has a right to common justice. The Christian vocation includes working for justice in society. But he knows also that he can never fulfil his service as a Christian thereby. His deepest ethical need is for love; yet, in daily life he is called to act in social relationships which call for justice but do not yield themselves immediately to the ethics of love. As a citizen of two worlds, the social order and the Kingdom of God, he is required to hold these two principles in tension: justice and love. He must always be conscious of a double situation: first, an obligation to an impossible ideal: "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect"; and second, living an imperfect life is an imperfect society. If he loses sight of either, he forfeits his distinctive right as a Christian citizen. (1)

In a little book entitled "Christian Ethics and Social Policy" Dr. John Bennett gives us guidance in

(1) Matt. 5:48

selecting a few practical principles of Christian social action. He suggests five. We have determined upon four, *two* of which are quoted directly from him but elaborated in somewhat different fashion.

- 1) Examine the motive, the means and the end of every action in the light of Christian love.

Every act has an end or goal in view, a means for attaining that goal and a motive (reason or desire) for moving in that direction. For instance, a man decides to become a doctor. That is the end in view. To achieve this he decides to spend alternate years at university and working as a bartender (means). His purpose is to make plenty of money as a doctor and retire early (the motive). Now all three must be subjected to the scrutiny of Christian love, which seeks the welfare of all who are affected by any act. If any one of the three fails to pass the test, then the others must also (in that particular situation) be adjudged wrong.

We have sometimes heard the remark: "The end justifies the means." Not so in Christian living. Only love, in its most stern and tender quality, can determine the justice of a given means used to gain a desired goal. The choice of wrong means wrecks the whole enterprise. And beyond that, Jesus plainly teaches that the underlying motives of our action, the

the inner unseen desires of our hearts, can corrupt even the action which outwardly appears to be most loving.

In regard to any act, therefore, a Christian must ask himself three simple questions:

1. Is my motive compatible with the spirit of love? Am I interested in my own gain only, or are the interests of others included?
2. As for the means I am employing, do they occasion injustice or harm of any sort to others? Does my action help or hinder other people in the living of the good life? Does it recognize their full right as my brothers?
3. Regarding the goal I have in view, will its achievement be counted a blessing to others as well as to myself?

Admittedly, it is becoming increasingly difficult to assess the love-value of any specific act; for sometimes it appears that what is good for one person renders harm to another. Moreover, in modern society we are related to countless people whom we can never see or know. It is hard to estimate the effect of one's own action on those who have such indirect and impersonal relation to us. Then again, to be realistic we must accept the fact that it is impossible in this world to practice love in any absolute sense. But that's just where the greatest care is needed, lest we use this fact as an excuse for selfish behaviour. Whatever the difficulties may be, the willingness to let love be the guiding principle throughout is the mark of the Christian. Through him compassion is let loose in the world to perform its healing constructive tasks.

2)

Remain constantly open to self-criticism in the light of Christian humility.

We have seen that the complicated nature of our society leaves us open to error in judgment as to the social, political or economic policy which best expresses the ideal of love. But more than that, the fact that "all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God". (1) makes us prone to make corrupt judgments in our own favour, whether as individuals or groups. We are apt to assume that our way of doing things is right, that our social order is somehow divinely ordained, that our nation is in the right. And in defence of these narrow interests and one-sided perspectives we are prepared to mass all the moral influence and all the physical power it is possible to muster.

Only Christian humility can turn the tables on temptations so subtle and insidious. Humility prompts the criticism of our most cherished hopes. Humility probes the social program we have in hand, teaches us that there is no perfect political party and no social order beyond criticism.....whether in the Soviet Union or in America. Further, Christian humility teaches us to be particularly suspicious of convictions which happen to coincide with our own self-interest. Humility will save us from arrogance, prevent us from exercising tyranny over others

(1) Romans 3:23

even in matters where we believe them utterly wrong and ourselves right.

To put the matter another way: all of us come under God's judgment. It is he who has the right to declare the right and the wrong in regard to any situation. To undertake that work ourselves is to usurp the place of God, which is the supreme apostasy.

Of course, Christians must make immediate practical decisions in life and act upon them. Yet humility will temper every act. We chart our course in good faith that God will vindicate our action; and in equally good faith that if we are wrong He will reprove and chasten us. The humble man is always open to correction. He may be resolute but never cocksure.

3)

Seek to know and work for those policies which express God's will in our time.

"God's Will in Our Time" is the title of a Commission Report presented to the Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1942. (1) It is significant that the study was begun in 1940 in the hour of the nation's greatest peril. But this report was no isolated one. Similar efforts had been under way in all sections of Christendom. Nor were they mere emergency enterprises, the result of fear psychology at the height of the war. World War II had only climaxed many years of soul-search-

(1) God's will in Our Time, Student Christian Movement Press 56 Bloomsbury St. London, W.C.I.

ing by individual Christians and by the Church as a whole. What had gone wrong with the world? What was wrong with ourselves that we should have come to such a pass? Where could guilt be placed? And above all, what next? What purpose has God for humanity now, and how can we align ourselves with that purpose?

Christians have always sought to know and to do the will of God. But in more recent years a number of new notes have been sounded. In the first place, we have come to see that the changing conditions of man's life through the centuries have produced varying problems, and that the specific solutions suited to one period are not necessarily applicable to another. In conformity with this principle, historical understanding of the Bible persuaded us that much of the counsel on social questions offered by the prophets and Jesus and Paul was conditioned by the prevailing world-view of their time and the current social situation. It could not be regarded as binding for us today. The same studies, however, brought into bolder relief than ever before the timeless moral and religious principles which have a bearing on the problems of any generation. Thus, while the will of God is unchanging through time, its application to any particular society will show decided variation. We don't require a new set of moral principles. We need only to apply the teachings of Jesus and of Paul to a world situation which is very

different from anything they experienced. To bear this clearly in mind will save us from too easily passing judgment on our industrial capitalism by reference to Jesus statements about the rich and the poor; or deciding policy regarding the liquor traffic on the basis of His attitude to wine.

The application of Biblical principles to our time has necessitated the formulation of certain secondary and more specialized principles which show how ideal principles are related to particular social issues and thus give guidance to the Christian citizen. JH. Oldham was one of the first to recognize this necessity to determine types of behaviour required of Christians in given periods and in given circumstances. These provisional principles of behaviour which stand somewhere between the universal principle and the particular situation or act he called "middle axioms". The "middle axiom" is more specific than the universal moral principle but less specific than any particular social program or political platform. Experience proves that, first, they provide practical ground on which agreement can easily be reached and second, they suggest the direction that Christians should take in political and economic activities. Here is an illustration in the field of race relations:

Universal Principle; All races have equal dignity

before God.

Middle Axiom: Equal opportunity must be secured for members of all races in such matters as employment, housing, education, legal protection and political rights.

Specific Legislation: It is hereby enacted that Negro children shall have free access to any school in the village of Kipton.

4)

"Attempt to counteract some of the (unfortunate) consequences of what we must do as citizens or in some official capacity by action of another kind". (1)

The behaviour of a boy in school forced a teacher to implement a ruling whereby the lad was sent home for the day. The consequences at home were unhappy to say the least. The teacher decided to be on the playground when the boy returned to school the next morning so that he could share the fun of a ball-game with the boys, this boy included. This evidence of the teacher's interest led the lad to abandon hard feelings and become one of the best behaved pupils in the class. This incident illustrates the principle set forth above. In his official capacity the teacher had of necessity acted in such a way as to impair his own personal relationship to his pupil; but he discovered a way of coming back into the fellowship of that boy.

A Japanese soldier in battle took prisoner a young

Chinese. As they made their way back to the Japanese lines they discovered that both of them were Christians. At a little wayside church the two men knelt together in worship, after which the Japanese soldier delivered his prisoner to his superior officers. Here again some of the consequences of a duty as citizen were mitigated by "action of another kind".

Acknowledgment must go to Professor Emil Brunner for clarifying what happens when people act in any official office such as "citizen," "soldier", "teacher" or "Employee". There are rules and regulations which bind their behaviour. But each of these also lives outside his given capacity, simply as a person. And on this plane we find our richest opportunities. As Brunner says: "actual life consists in meeting another person in love"(1)

Our references to the teacher-pupil problem and the two soldiers illustrate this idea on the very simplest plane of person to person relationships. But it holds true in wider fields as well. The Christian's membership in a Church, for instance, gives him special opportunities for this sort of social action:

Note re. principle No. 4

Direct quotation from John Bennett. It is this one which seems to us unique in his list of principles of social action. Most Christians have practiced it many times, dimly feeling it their duty, but often experiencing a sense of frustration in the very act. Dr. Bennett clarifies the positive values in an old form of Christian behaviour.

(1) The Divine Imperative, by Emil Brunner (MacMillan 1937)
p. 228



"The fact that I am at the same time both a citizen of a nation and the member of a universal Church is a source of considerable ethical freedom. Even in war, which surrounded us with so many ugly necessities, Christians proved to be free to keep in existence channels of reconciliation that were used as soon as the war ended. In the case of many decisions that limit our action, decisions that mean taking sides for one movement or party against another, membership in the Church furnishes a relationship across the line of conflict that may modify the conflict itself".....(1)

We have set down four cardinal rules for guiding a Christian to appropriate decisions in social life. They offer no easy way to the Christian, nothing cut and dried. To keep them in mind at once is itself a difficult task. Let us apply them until they become habits. They are useful tools for the exercise of Christian citizenship.

The Part Played by the Church as an Institution

Just as the individual person cannot exist apart from society, so the individual Christian is part of a larger body, the body of Christ or the Church. We must expect therefore that Christian social action is incumbent not only upon individual Christians but upon the Church as a whole. What is this corporate role of the Church in society?

1) Making Christians. In the section above we set forth the chief principles by which a Christian may be guided in social action---the motive of love, self-criticism and so forth. The Church's primary task is to foster these qualities in people. It does so through

worship, exhortation and teaching. It provides a ground within which people are encouraged to exercise Christian virtue and to achieve the community of love in actual practice. Fellowship within the Church is a fore-taste of the Kingdom.

The fact that the Church includes people from a variety of classes (which in the secular world clash with one another) gives her a special opportunity to interpret one group to another. A Christian should be led to appreciate the needs and desires of those who belong to another race or a different economic class. Even more important, the Church can do much to help a person realize the weaknesses of his own class and to know that his own social position tends to determine the character of his political outlook. Such self-knowledge or objectivity is greatly needed even by those who conscientiously seek the good of others. Well-intentioned reformers can easily mistake the ideals of their own social background for the will of God.

2) Declaring Principles. Every citizen is confronted with many political theories and economic policies. He must pick and choose among them. And after the choice is made, there are technical problems in putting them into practice. In all this the Christian has no more natural competence than any other citizen.

He is not specially endowed for the regular responsibilities of citizenship simply because he is a Christian. As Dr. William Temple used to say, Christ didn't come to save us the trouble of accurately observing facts and drawing correct inferences. However, the Church is entrusted with a unique revelation about man and his destiny. Her specialized knowledge is in the field of morality. She visualizes a new kind of Kingdom. She has a duty to declare the principles of love and righteousness upon which alone the Kingdom will be founded. Put negatively, this means that the Church must judge every social policy by Christian morality and declare that judgment to the world. Her more positive contribution is made by giving moral and spiritual guidance to any citizen open to influence when a particular problem presents itself. Take a simple illustration. Suppose a government orders investigation of conditions in mental hospitals within its jurisdiction. Experts are hired to ascertain the facts. Their published report shows evidence of mistreatment of patients and graft in administration. Such a report could be tabled and forgotten. It would be the duty of the Church in the name of God and human welfare to stimulate the conscience of people towards a clean-up of affairs in these institutions.

3) Warning about Sin. No more suitable word has yet been found to describe that strange perversity of

human nature by which the best things in life are given an evil twist. Blessings are turned into curses. Sin can penetrate any order of society no matter what safeguards are woven into its structure "Let's change the system", we say; but it is never fool-proof. In an economic system of private enterprise, sin rears its head as unlimited acquisitiveness. In a collectivized system of public ownership, one group or another seizes and manipulates power for its own purposes. The Church has the painful duty of warning against the notion that salvation lies in this or that system.

In this connection the Church can all too easily fall prey to either of two errors. On the one hand there is the temptation of self-righteous withdrawal. All the practical social alternatives seem so inferior to the ideal of Christian love that some Christians refuse to work wholeheartedly within any one of them. The second error is that of identifying any specific social order with the Kingdom of God, thereby condemning many people to suffer the evils which Christian scrutiny could readily uncover.

4) Setting Her Own House in Order. This phase of the Church's role can best be described by the old saying: "Practice what you preach." The Church has an institutional structure of her own, involving the raising

and spending of money, employment and dismissal of personnel and other administrative elements. Economics and politics within the Christian fellowship are very easily influenced by the secular environment. Business practices which the Church condemns in the industrial world are sometimes followed without misgiving in the Church-----over-worked and underpaid employees, debts overdue, pupit competition, inequalities of salary etc. These things put a strain upon, though they cannot break the fellowship of men in Christ. Their chief misfortune is that they give a hollow ring to the social proclamations of the Church. The world smiles with indifference. Yes, the Church must put her own house in order.

None of this is said to detract from those phases of social witness within the Church which are already far in advance of anything the secular world either demands or gets. Nowhere is there a greater feeling of brotherhood in evidence. No institution possesses so many workers whose sense of service is so powerful. Or consider those Church pension funds which operate not on the basis of salary differentials but on years of service. The Church must only move to see that all aspects of her institutional life may be seen in a similar light. She will thereby increase her right to speak to the world on social questions.

Having considered the ways in which Christians may

undertake social action, we turn now to consider the issues of the day.

THE POLITICAL ORDER

Chapter V

THE POLITICAL ORDER

Who shall rule? And by what right shall one man exercise authority over another? This is the problem of government. It was first defined and a certain crude solution discovered in that distant day when one caveman clubbed another into submission to his will.

Most people today have at least some notion of the long struggle in the development of various governmental forms. The textbooks tell of patriarchal systems and oligarchies, monarchies and democracies. It is not our business to describe them here; we must take all that for granted. Our business is rather to recognize the political tradition in which we ourselves are set, to understand how we came this way and to determine our present political outlook as Christians.

We speak of ourselves as living in a democracy. The democratic answer to the question "Who shall rule?" is that the people should rule themselves. To be practical about it, of course, there must be certain institutions of government whose operation is handled by comparatively few people. But the idea is that these governing agencies are held responsible to the people being governed. Institutions like the ballot, frequent elections, political parties and legislatures are all designed to achieve this intimacy between the people as

a whole and the particular persons whom they choose temporarily to exercise authority on their behalf. The ideal of democracy is well described in the famous Lincoln phrase: "Government of the people, by the people for the people".

The Roots of Democracy

It is commonly assumed that our democratic institutions were inherited from the ancient Greeks. Careful study, however, reveals that while we have been influenced by the Greeks our democratic spirit stems from the Hebrew-Christian tradition. It's roots lie in the ancient Hebrew experiences both of slavery and nomadic desert life.

"It is startling to realize that political and industrial slavery was the cradle of the first real democracy and of the first religion that taught loyalty to one God and justice and consideration for all men. The Hebrew nation began in a revolt against inhuman treatment-----The bondage in Egypt accomplished this for the Hebrews: it taught them to hate political and industrial tyranny of every kind. The memory of their own experience enlisted their sympathies ever afterward on behalf of all victims of oppression.-----it is this strong social element in Israel's early religion that distinguishes it from all other early faiths, and that led the Hebrew prophets of a later age to reject sacrifices and ceremonies as a means of pleasing God and to proclaim justice and mercy and love as the sole basis of his favour." (1)

Prior to their enslavement and for a number of years immediately after their escape, the Hebrews lived as nomads in desert country. Here again their experience

(1) History of the Hebrew Commonwealth, Bailey & Kent
p. 35-36 (New York: Scribners)

promoted a democratic spirit:

"The very insecurity of the life of the desert forces people together in firm solidarity. Class distinctions have hardly the chance to solidify, because there is so little private property. Men can own there little more than the horses on which they ride, the weapons they use, the clothes they wear, and articles of personal adornment. Pasture lands and even herds are owned in common." (1)

In the political turmoil of the 8th and the 7th centuries B.C. the prophets were quick to recall the common man's rights which had been hammered out in those early years. When Jezebel injected despotic notions into King Ahab's mind so that he killed the peasant Naboth and took his land, it was another ordinary commoner (Elijah) who uttered the judgment: "Thus saith the Lord, Hast thou killed, and taken possession?-----In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick thy blood" (2) And the King, knowing in his heart that Elijah was right, repented in sackcloth. This is no isolated story. It is typical of the prophetic message as declared through Isaiah, Jeremiah and the others.

When we come to the early Christian era the thread is harder to see. Apparently Jesus himself steered clear of immediate political issues. At least he was able to retain the loyalty of both Simon the Zealot and Matthew. The one desired the overthrow of Rome, while the other

(1) Christian Faith & Democracy, Gregory Vlastos, p. 20
(New York: Association Press)

(2) 1 Kings 21:19

was a civil servant working for the Roman government. Apparently Jesus refused to take sides in the hottest political issue of His day. He accepted things as they were. How can He thus guide us in matters of citizenship? As for Paul, he counselled unquestioning obedience to the political authorities. "The powers that be are ordained of God", he said. (1)

There seems to be little of the democratic attitude in a statement of that sort, no thought of intimate connection between the governors and the governed, nor any acceptance of the individual's right to promote change.

We misunderstand Jesus and Paul if we take their political attitudes at face value and apply them to our own times without taking account both of the actual political situation of their day and of the general world-view which they held. We have to visualize the little band of Jesus' followers. At the outset most of them were among the poor, the slaves, the outcasts; and even the Roman citizens among them possessed neither the right nor the power to influence government. The very idea of changing the social order would have been thought preposterous by the keenest Christians. The idea was rather to take defensive measures against the evils of the day, to obey the laws when conscience allowed but to keep Roman life and culture at arms length, and to cultivate the Christian society for the values it could

offer both in this life and in the life to come.

Consonant with this policy was the conviction that the end of the age was at hand when all things earthly would be consummated. Let Rome have her fling. Her days are numbered!

But Christians must ask what the message of Jesus means for us today. "Our position is different. We are not merely subjects of the State, we share in the life of the state. Modern parliamentary government and 'democracy' demand from each his best thought, his judgment, his declared preference." (1) For all citizens, including those who happen to be Christians, political responsibility is regarded as a right and a duty. Moreover, there has in fact been no end of the age. Christians must therefore expect Christ to give guidance in behaviour towards their fellow men in this present world. If Jesus own day-to-day activities left us no political blueprints, we are bound to ask what the substance of his message suggests for our time. What political forms seem best to express the intention of Christ?

Two points are clear. First, as we have already seen, Christian faith does emphasize the essential dignity or worth of men under God, under Him all have equal status. All are created beings, called to be His co-workers, though free to decide whether or not they will

(1) The Message of Jesus For The Life of Today-Ernest Thomas

enter the fellowship of His work. Secondly, Christian faith requires that every man has a duty to serve his fellows. And such service is to be exercised beyond the measure which is asked of the ordinary citizen. The Christian citizen must be expected to do more than that which is his duty to do. "Whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain" (1) Even the right to govern or to hold high place in the nation comes under the compulsion of the service motive. "They which are accounted to rule over the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and their great ones exercise authority upon them. But so shall it not be among you; but whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister: and whosoever of you will be the chiefest, shall be servant of all." (2)

Dr. Vlastos suggests the real force of this statement by showing that Jesus used the word for "slave", translated less harshly as servant. The slave gives all he has, his work, his life. Those who rule are to serve rather than dominate.

These two nations of dignity and responsibility have sometimes been buried in the history of the Christian Church. But they have never died. Coming to the surface again and again they have goaded and inspired men to fashion political patterns which give them fuller sway. And always the direction of movement has been towards

(1) Matthew 5:41

(2) Mark 10: 42-44

democracy. The Reformation period, for instance, prepared the soil for giving the franchise to the common man through its doctrine of the "priesthood of all believers" -----the idea that each person has the right to deal with God directly without a priest intervening on his behalf. Evangelical movements, by reminding men of salvation open even to the most wretched persons, aroused again the sense of human dignity and outraged the conscience at the sight of irresponsible and repressive government. It is significant that host of evangelicals were in the forefront of democratic political reform in 18th and 19th century England. (1) Careful study of early American life and political constitution demonstrates the intimate connection between Christian faith and New World democracy. In the testing days of Hitler's Europe there was a tendency for Christians to dwell on the transcendence of God above political considerations. But the fundamental Christian intention again triumphed when Karl Barth, the greatest champion of other worldly religion, acknowledged the need to plump for democracy: "When I consider the deepest and most central content of the New Testament exhortation, I should say that we are justified, from the point of view of exegesis, in

(1) For a well documented discussion of this subject see books by: J. Wesley Bready: "England Before and After Wesley" - Hodder & Stoughton-
"This Freedom Whence?" New York: American Tract Society

regarding the 'democratic conception of the State' as a justifiable expansion of the thought of the New Testament."

(1) So much for democracy as we know it today. Granted, future generations may discover other governmental forms which will express even better the mind of Christ in the political relationships of mankind.

The Machinery of Democracy

An adequate text on democratic forms of government would deal with the various levels of government from local to national; and with the several branches which function at each level, such as the Legislative body which makes the laws, the Administrative which carries them into effect and the Judicial which interprets and enforces the law. However, we must leave these with passing reference only.

Two elements in democracy as we know it stand out as practical expressions of Christian insight:

1) Majority Rule. The Concept of rule by majority necessarily involves the proposition that every person has the right to express opinions and influence government policies. None shall be ignored, save children and those youth who still depend on parental control (determined arbitrarily by an age-limit). Through literature debate and discussion the citizen has the right to inform himself and influence others; and he has the opportunity to

participate in the final decision by means of the ballot.

The enemies of democracy are quick to point out the limitations of making public decisions by majority vote, a simple counting of heads. Why should ignorant and inexperienced people enjoy the same voting rights as those with knowledge and experience? The question appears legitimate on the surface, but it must be ruled out when we examine the alternative. Any other system concentrates power in the hands of a select few, or a class. The lesson of history is that power corrupts its possessor in proportion to the measure of power possessed. Absolute power corrupts absolutely. It is against this prospect that democratic peoples have hammered out the principle of universal suffrage. It is worth the price. Moreover, the price is not so high as might sometimes be imagined; for in actual practice democratic systems have resulted in placing men of supreme intellectual and cultural qualifications in the highest political and civil service posts. At the same time, it is of utmost importance for Christians to realize that the same condition is not so likely in matters of morality:

"The quality of government provided by a democracy can well surpass that which might be expected from the intellectual and cultural caliber of the electorate, but it can scarcely rise above the moral elevation of the people themselves. Free men of high morals and ideals can be expected to select as their rulers men of similar character who are at the same time noteworthy for their greater intellectual and administrative capacities, a fact

that has often been the salvation of the American republic. Let, however, the vision of righteousness, justice, and altruism grow dim in a democratic society, as it did in ancient Rome, and the democratic ideal becomes a mockery and a delusion. Evil men will gain access to high places, and will bring down to ruin the most skillfully devised structure."(1)

2) Civil Liberties. This is the second important element in democracy when viewed from the Christian standpoint. Majority rule which fails to take account of the needs, interests and rights of minorities or of individual persons is in danger of becoming another tyranny. Paradoxically then, while fighting for the right to govern the whole populous through the will of the majority, democratic peoples have fought equally hard to preserve certain basic individual and group rights against the possible excesses of that same majority. For instance, a man allegedly steals silver from a jewelry store. No matter how sure everybody may be of his guilt, the suspect must be accorded a fair trial and his innocence is assumed until adequate proof of guilt is presented. Or again, even after a majority ruling has been made on a question like Military Service, citizens who oppose the measure still have the right to campaign for its repeal without intimidation by the majority. In this sense the strong protect the weak. It must therefore be expected of the Christian citizen that he shall be sensitive to any infraction of the rights of minorities, whether they

(1) A Scientist's Approach to Religion- Carl W. Miller
pp 113-114 (New York: MacMillan, 1947)

be minorities of opinion, race, religion or any other.

Party Politics Many a citizen has dismissed a subject of discussion with a sneering remark: "It's party politics, thats all". In a carefully sampled survey of youth opinion the Canadian Youth Commission in 1944 discovered widespread cynicism respecting politics in Canada. Politics is regarded somewhat as a dirty game, necessary perhaps, but unsavory. A further blow to the good name of politics was evident in their choice of vocation. In listing their preferences for life-work, only one English-speaking youth and one young French Canadian gave first choice to a political career .

The fact that party politics has fallen into disrepute is a matter of grave concern, for democracy could not ~~function~~ long without political parties of some sort. Parties are a political necessity if there is to be continuity to government and adequate means whereby scattered opinions may be crystalized into stated policies. Parties educate the public, organize opinion around specific issues, prepare the stage for the final test of opinion in elections. And at least one part must perform the highly useful service of providing intelligent opposition even after the majority have succeeded to power. The party at once facilitates majority rule and protects minority interest. As such it is a vital element in democracy.

Unless and until an adequate substitute can be found, Christians must share in one political party or another. To fail in this is to abdicate a Christian function and turn over the affairs of state to those who may have little regard for the dignity of their fellows and little incentive to serve the public.

The Church and Politics

If it may be regarded as a Christian duty to take part in politics, especially where democratic procedures not only make possible but welcome practical expressions of Christian faith, what about the Church as a whole? Should the Church support some political party which appears most nearly to satisfy the demands of Christian living? There is nothing in theory to prevent such a policy, but in practice the matter is less simple.

To begin with, political parties are fallible. A given party may be right on one issue and wrong on another. In committing herself on one particular issue the Church ought not to be involved in all others by virtue of a party tag. A more important negative factor is that while the Church has a right to declare social objectives based on her experience in the moral life, she is by no means the custodian of experience in regard to the methods by which those objectives may best be attained. Yet political parties commit themselves at the

same time both to objectives and to methods for attaining them. Perhaps most important of all, however, is the historical fact that the Church itself has suffered corruption when it has been aligned with any specific party and manouvred into a place of political power.

In another chapter we shall deal more fully with the relation of the Church to the social order. For the moment, we confine ourselves to the position that the Church's proper political function is first to urge political participation upon all Christian citizens through some party affiliation; second, to clarify political issues in-so-far as they have religious and moral implications (and they all do); third, to stand watch over the rights of individuals and minority groups who are always in danger of tyranny even in democratic countries.

The Democratic Way or Life

It cannot be too strongly stated that democracy is more than a system of government; it is more also than a set of skills and procedures for handling public affairs. Democracy is an attitude of mind which must exercise itself beyond the purely political sphere. It is a way of life which can be practiced in the home, at school and in social relationships. When democracy ceases to permeate these other areas of life it can hardly function

effectively in government; for successful democratic government depends on a constituency steeped in the democratic way of looking at life. Democratic citizenship is more than a matter of engaging in pre-election discussion and casting one's ballot.

Youth in particular can take heart at this point. Young people sometimes feel themselves excluded from political significance until they have the vote. But there are areas of life in which they can express themselves in almost every form of democratic institution. Social clubs, school and church organizations, youth movements of all kinds provide young people with many opportunities to live and work democratically. These agencies encourage self-discipline, free expression of opinion and, above all, action on matters where youth can go beyond discussion to implement decisions. There is probably greater value, for example, in having a group of young people plan and actually construct a ball-park than to have them discuss United Nations policies over which they have no immediate influence-----though the latter is also a valuable pursuit.

Youth organizations which are set up nationally and internationally are especially well equipped to yield a national and world consciousness among their members. Exchange of literature, conferences across boundaries and other means may be used to advantage. Examples: Boy Scout Association, Y.W.C.A. , Student Christian Movement.

THE ECONOMIC ORDER

Chapter VI

THE ECONOMIC ORDER

We have considered the importance of political democracy for the Christian citizen. We have not suggested that its purest forms have been reached anywhere; nor have we imagined that most nations now enjoy democratic institutions of some kind. The struggle for political democracy will continue.

During the past century the spotlight has shifted from political to economic questions. For generations the great watchwords sounded throughout the world were of a political character: independence, liberty and franchise. Today on every side the important talk is about production and consumption, about food, clothing and shelter. Men fear economic depression. They demand economic security. Of all the freedoms, they cry most for freedom from want. They are ready even to sacrifice hard-won political liberties if it appears necessary in order to assure themselves of economic security.

The Economic Problem: History

The economic system under which we live had its origin in a re-discovery of the individual man during the 14th and 15th centuries. Previous generations had lived in a close-knit community. They were bound together by a feudal order in which the political duties of each to-

wards all were carefully defined, whether a man was a lowly serf or a lord of the Manor. Economic pursuits were exercised through craft societies; religious and social activities revolved around the Church as the unifying institution of the age. The individual's needs were well cared for and in many ways life was satisfying. But priority was given to the community, its group agencies, its rules and regulations. Then there came a new burst of life. It was inspired by the rediscovery of ancient Greek and Roman learning with their interest in man as man. The new spirit of inquiry led to new ways of looking at the world and ordering the facts of knowledge-----and above all, to new technics of production and communication. The lid was off. The old regulated community gave way under pressure of invention and manufacture, travel and trade. An exciting new world was born in which emphasis everywhere rested on the individual. He was free to think for himself and express his thoughts. He began to get the vision of the ballott in politics; and in religion, was persuaded that he could himself approach God without institutional encumbrances. In the realm of economics, which is our ~~immediate~~ immediate interest in this chapter, the great new ideal was freedom of enterprise.

The idea which dominated the new economy was something like this: If each man is fully free to pursue his own interests, then the good of all will be gained. A man

could manufacture what he desired, set his own price on it and sell it in the open market. Likewise he could try to satisfy his wants at a time and a price of his own choosing. The only restriction was willingness of others to sell and to buy. Thus the interplay of freely bargaining persons in an open market worked according to a natural economic law known as "the law of supply and demand" by which alone the individual marketers would be governed. Competing interests thus balanced each other harmoniously. This harmony was thought to express the will of God as far as the economic relations were concerned.

For a long time the idea worked well in practice. The new methods of manufacture increased industrial output tremendously, and for the first time in history it became possible to overcome natural scarcity. Living standards rose considerably. From a material standpoint the satisfaction of human need was within reach. Then several difficulties presented themselves.

First, the very machines which promised to banish scarcity tended to destroy personality. People were crowded together in the vicinity of smoking factories, often worked under unhealthy conditions and found machine labour an uncreative routine which deadened the spirit. Moreover, the relations between employer and employees often lost the personal touch. Thousands of workers were unacquainted with their employers. There was little to encourage the employer to treat his workers in any way different from

commodities to be bought and sold cheaply, a necessary adjunct to manufacturing operations.

Second, the new industrial methods of mass production necessarily involved many people in the processing of a single article, e.g. a radio or a pair of shoes. Yet the enterprise as a whole would be owned and controlled by one man or perhaps a comparatively small number of people. Hence, the concentration of wealth in the hands of the few, while the mass of employed folk were subject to the arbitrary decisions of their employers. The suggestion that each worker was free to seek another job provided little consolation. In a majority of instances, his next job could offer only the same insecure conditions. Thus the notion of economic freedom was bound to become a mockery to millions of working men. The so-called open market was like a vicious chain of circumstance.

Third, it became apparent that the industrial system would operate smoothly and with benefit to all only as markets expanded. Adequate sources of raw materials had to be discovered and utilized; hence, exploration, colonization, plantation and mining in far-off countries: with these areas in turn being expected to buy the finished products. Modern industry opened up the world; but expansion could not go on forever. Sooner or later the colonies and so-called backward peoples were bound to become industrialized. They too sought markets....and so the race

was on for control of materials and markets, international competition to the point of war. It is foolish to suppose that "capitalism" (the big bogey for some people) is the sole cause of wars. It would be equally foolish to assume that the world can be free from war while unrestrained competition irritates the international scene.

We have seen then how the industrial order became suspect: by endangering human personality, by subjecting hosts of men to the irresponsible power of a few of their fellows and by creating the threat of periodic unemployment and war.

Note: One of the worst features to be developed under the present economic order is the international cartel. "A Cartel is a control exercised over international trade by private companies in relation to a commodity or group of related commodities so that production is controlled, markets assigned and prices fixed, on a world scale for self-protective reasons..... seeks exclusive domination of industry.....exercise of such sovereign powers made cartels unofficial governments, responsible only to their directorates and beyond any single government's control. The cartels' restrictive practices increased unemployment, unduly limited production below national and world needs, increased the cost of living, perpetuated the depression" See the 1946 Annual Report of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service, United Church of Canada. One simple illustration of cartel action: Long-life electric light bulbs are prohibited of sale in Canada.

The Present Situation: Judgment

It was Canon F.R. Barry who declared that "Christianity is the only great religion which takes economics quite seriously". (1) Believing in God, who

(1) Christianity and Crisis, edited by Percy Dearmer (London: Gollancz)p. 588

entered the world in the physical life of a man, Christians have a proper regard for the material bases of human life. When Christians have ignored the claims of the physical, they have violated God's purpose: which surely is to bring the whole range of human activity into conformity with his will.

Economic crisis rightly rouses the Christian conscience. It is not surprising therefore to find Church courts discussing the problems of economic order and publishing reports to guide Christians and witness to the world. One of the most authoritative of these was produced by the Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State (1937). The conference recognized certain points at which a Christian view of life is challenged by the present economic order:

a) The enhancement of acquisitiveness..... as long as industry is organized primarily not for service of the community but with the object of producing a purely financial result for some of its members, it cannot be recognized as properly fulfilling its social purpose.

b) Inequalities existence of disparities of economic circumstance on a scale which differs from country to country, but in some is shocking, in all is considerable (large numbers) are deprived of the opportunities of fully developing their powers.

c) Irresponsible possession of economic powerpower wielded by a few individuals or groups who are not responsible to any organ of societyat the top of this hierarchy are the leaders in the world of finance -----the controllers of certain great key industries.

d) Frustration of the sense of Christian vocation
A profound conflict has arisen between the demand

that the Christian should be doing the will of God in his daily work, and the actual kinds of work which Christians find themselves forced to do within the economic order-----many workers must produce things which are useless or shoddy or destructive....even more serious is the constant threat of unemployment(1).

With equal vigour, various denominations have criticized the existing order. A Commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland lists its wrongs: dominance of the profit motive, periodic unemployment, destruction of good produce in order to maintain the economic structure, depersonalization of life in large urban centers and the creation of situations favourable to the development of war. (2)

Church leaders at Amsterdam in 1948 wrestled earnestly with these great questions. Their real concern was with the deepest root of man's disorder: his refusal to see and admit that his responsibility to God stands over and above loyalty to any earthly community. No mere adjustment of industrial relations will solve the real problem. They still regarded it necessary, however, to clarify certain points of conflict between Christianity and the present order:

1) Capitalism tends to subordinate what should be the primary task of any community -- the meeting of human needs -- to the economic advantages of those

(1) The Oxford Conference, Official Report by J.H. Oldham (New York: Willett, Clark & Co.) pp.86 - 92

(2) God's Will In Our Time (S.C.M. Press)

- who have most power over its institutions.
- 2) It tends to produce serious inequalities.
 - 3) It has developed a practical form of materialism in western nations in spite of their Christian background, for it has placed the greatest emphasis upon success in making money.
 - 4) It has also kept the people of capitalist countries subject to a kind of fate which has taken the form of such social catastrophes as mass unemployment. (1)

Some Efforts at Solution

Since the earliest stages of modern industrialism there have been efforts to mitigate its evils and bolster it at points of weakness. Witness almsgiving and charities in favour of the poor. There is a fine Christian motive behind much of modern charity; and yet there have been corrupting elements too. Philanthropy has too often been a salve for the rich man's conscience in the face of the consequences of his prosperity-----a feeble returning to the common man of something which is already his by right. The giver is accorded false esteem and the receiver loses self-respect. Even serviceable Welfare Agencies which rescue the fallen and help the poor must be careful lest they stand in the same condemnation. These services are necessary under present circumstances. A Christian will support them; but he will be careful lest the job of cleaning up the evil consequences of a social order should become an excuse for failure to achieve a more just economy.

In most democratic countries the people as a whole have acknowledged that large numbers are forced to

(1) Findings and Decisions, First Assembly World Council of Churches p. 45

live under conditions of economic insecurity. They have therefore acted through government to off-set the trouble. Examples include Family Allowance, Workman's Compensation, Unemployment Insurance and Old Age Pension.

To a certain extent, therefore, the security of the average man has been recognized as a social responsibility. It remains a question whether social security measures of this sort can adequately compensate for the casualties suffered in our economy.

Sometimes one group or class will organize to secure more of the benefits which it considers its rightful possession. The labour union is a good example. By collective bargaining, the strike and other means, the union has forced improvement in wage-rates and working conditions. Unions have sometimes gone to excess in their demands, but their excesses have been no more extreme than those practiced by the one-time unrestricted industrialists. The Co-operative is another type of organized effort to win for the ordinary man more of his share. Here, for instance, is a group of fishermen who find that they must sell their fish to a powerful canning monopoly at whatever price is offered. They band together to process the catch in a cannery of their own and then proceed to sell their goods in quantities large enough to give them bargaining power. Some

people don't realize that billions of dollars of Co-operative business is done every year throughout the world, spreading the profits of industry among millions of people.

It must be noted that none of these methods of tackling the economic problem contemplates radical changes to the economic order itself. Even large scale co-operatives operate within the competitive system. Co-operatives and Labour Unions and Welfare Agencies merely seek to equalize somewhat the profits of industry and benefits of a technological age.

The Communist Challenge

What if all these efforts fail? What then is the alternative? The most obvious and aggressive option is Communism. The reader must turn elsewhere for a history of Marxist Communism. Suffice it to say that Karl Marx was one of the first to analyse the problems of our industrial order. He saw and proclaimed that masses of the people were dominated in thought and life by economic circumstances over which they exercised no immediate control. The material conditions under which a given group lives shapes their ideas, their behaviour and marks them as a particular class. The clearest class distinction is between the owning-managerial-business type and the worker who has only the labour of his hands to offer in exchange for

daily bread. In Marx's view the so-called working classes live in actual or potential enslavement to the owners of industry. Their only salvation lies in violent revolution to gain public ownership of the means of production. Marx claimed that the new order must at least begin with "dictatorship of the proletariat". Whether Communist countries today exemplify what he meant by that is not certain, but it is certain that they have a form of dictatorship. It is totalitarian in its effect.

Christians should seek to understand why Communism is attractive to millions of people today. It makes a direct appeal to those who have felt the harsher aspects of our economic system; and its appeal is even greater to millions in Asia or Africa who have never known the benefits which western nations have enjoyed through their industrial system. Moreover, the anti-religious teaching of Communism is in part due to the record of professedly Christian society which has rested too easily in the face of inequalities and oppression. The early Christian Church exhibited a solidarity with the down-trodden which the Church today does not possess. It must be recaptured through contrition, understanding and sacrifice. This was the note sounded at the World Council of Churches by way of preface to a careful listing of the points of conflict between Christianity and Communism:

- 1) The communist promise of what amounts to a complete redemption of man in history (i.e. in this world)
- 2) The belief that a particular class by virtue of its role as the bearer of a new order is free from the sins and ambiguities that Christians believe to be characteristic of all human existence
- 3) The materialistic and deterministic teachings, however they may be qualified, that are incompatible with belief in God and with the Christian view of man as a person, made in God's image and responsible to Him.
- 4) Ruthless methods of communists in dealing with their opponents.
- 5) The demand of the party on its members for an exclusive and unqualified loyalty which belongs only to God, and the coercive policies of communist dictatorship in controlling every aspect of life(1)

Observe that most of these criticisms of Communism are distinctly religious in character. Number four is the only exception. We must search elsewhere in the Amsterdam report for a statement of the practical danger: namely, that to socialize the means of production may lead only to new and inordinate combinations of political and economic power, culminating in complete totalitarianism exercised through the State. In such a State, little account is taken of the individual. He is swept along by the social currents, shorn of personal responsibility in ever-enlarging areas of life. In the Christian understanding of man, therefore, his very nature is violated.

We have already seen, however, that capitalist economy tends to give one man or a small group of men control over thousands of their fellows by virtue of

(1) Findings and Decisions, First Assembly World Council of Churches p. 44

economic power; we have discussed the evils of such power. Under Communism, the concentration of power extends to the political as well as economic life. And in both systems all the new technical developments of science can be used to strengthen the social controls. The ruling ideas may be right or wrong, motives good or bad, politics radical or conservative. That matters not so much as the fact that vast concentrations of power strangle the individual's right to act as a moral and accountable being under God.

It is a mistake to imagine that the economic problem is one of simple alternatives:--Capitalism or Communism? We run from a bear, and a lion springs upon us. One would like to say that there is a simple option. If there is, it was not known to leaders of the Church at Amsterdam:

The Christian churches should reject the ideologies of both communism and laissez faire capitalism, and should seek to draw men away from the false assumption that these extremes are the only alternatives. Each has made promises which it could not redeem. Communist ideology puts the emphasis upon economic justice, and promises that freedom will come automatically after the completion of the revolution. Capitalism puts emphasis upon freedom, and promises that justice will follow as a bi-product of free-enterprise; that, too, is an ideology which has been proved false. It is the responsibility of Christians to seek new, creative solutions which never allow either justice or freedom to destroy each other (1).

Apparently, we cannot be spared the pain of struggle in the social order to achieve a system which at once guarantees freedom and justice. None of us can see it yet. Perhaps we shall be led through a terrible darkness before dawn.

One thing is clear. We are past the stage when things may just drift along. Man must take soundings and set his course. We used to ask whether or not the social order should be planned. That question has become obsolete. Since modern methods of social control make large-scale planning possible in a few quick moves, someone will plan whether we like it or not:

Modern society has to be planned: if we do not have a good plan, there will be a plan of some kind, and it will certainly be a bad one. The vital issue to day is whether it is possible to plan for freedom and subject planning to democratic control. Unless a way can be discovered to make the new techniques serve the purposes of democracy, some form of totalitarianism is inevitable. (1).

We are thus faced with the problem of extending democracy from the political field (in which so much has already been gained) to the economic field. The only alternative is to be caught in some form of totalitarianism, whether of a despotic individual or of a particular economic group. To be specific: whoever owns or even control the major means of production likewise controls the destiny of

(1) Real Life is Meeting - Oldham P. 75, by way of interpreting Prof. Karl Mannheim.

of most citizens. If we are to have economic democracy, then the people themselves must discover some way of controlling the means of production if they are to remain in possession of their own destiny. Economic power must be made objectively responsible to the community as a whole. The possessors of economic power must be answerable for the use of that power. And whatever the outcome, for Christians the principle of stewardship should hold: wealth and power are held only in trust. They must be taken from the holder who violates the trust.

Some Principles to Preserve

Even though economic issues seem beyond us in their hugeness, we cannot escape the responsibility for exercising judgment on public policy and making day-to-day decisions for ourselves. In Chapter 14 we suggested certain principles to be kept in mind by Christians. We close the present chapter with additional suggestions bearing more directly on economic life.

1) The right to work. That it is a normal man's duty to work has long been recognized, though there have been exceptions among so-called upper classes who assumed the right to live by the work of others. But work is not only the duty of all; it must be regarded as the right of all. Grievous things happen to persons who are left

(1) ~~Real Life is Meeting - Oldham P. 75, by way of interpreting Prof. Karl Mannheim.~~

without socially useful work over long periods. They lose the feeling of significance in society, lose ambition and the sense of right and wrong. Unemployment demoralizes. We must conclude that one of the basic human rights is the right to work. An economic order which denies that right to large numbers of people is rendered suspect; and all policies which observe that right are to be encouraged.

2) Humane conditions of work. A technological age inevitably requires large numbers of people to work at uncreative routine jobs. Depersonalization of human life in industry has already been referred to. It need not be absolute, for the conditions of employment can be adjusted to compensate for the losses sustained. Reasonable hours of labour, healthful working conditions, adequate rates of pay and accident insurance are examples of ways to humanize the economic order.

3) Security. We have already asserted that the greatest demand of the age is for economic security: freedom from want as a minimum, and a decent standard of living as an ideal. In plain words, the worker has a right to know that he is secure in his job and that his wages will provide adequately for his family. That's what he means by security.

Christians are wary of the demand for material goods, for it so often proceeds from a purely materialist view of life. An overconcern for the material leads to

luxury and hoarding which debases human life. However, Christians have also come to see that widespread poverty and undernourishment tend to lower the spiritual temper of a people. Individuals among the poor may overcome the the hazards of privation. Some of them attain high moral and spiritual life; but the vast majority are in fact debased by conditions under which they must live. The spiritual life does not depend entirely on the material, but it is exercised through the material and can be influenced by it. The Christian must therefore regard economic wealth as a means to human well-being: no more, no less. He will agree with Proverbs: "give me neither poverty nor riches ----- lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or lest I be poor, and steal and take the name of my God in vain." (1) He will pray after our Lord's manner: "Give us this day our daily bread", having regard for the simple necessities of food, clothing and shelter.

Does the economic order provide the material necessities for all? Does it do so steadily and permanently? These are questions which must influence a Christian's attitude towards any economic policy.

4! Justice The supreme ideal of the Kingdom of God is the law of love which proceeds from the heart under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. In a sinful world,

however, the Christian is obliged to discover the best means for checking human sinfulness in a manner which at the same time leaves open the way of love. He works towards approximations of love. It is the principle of justice which settles these approximations. It defines the good of each man in relation to all others; seeks by the enforcement of law both to promote the agreed rights of people and to keep the evil-doer from overrunning the rights of his fellows. A Christian will never be satisfied with justice alone. He must still exercise love which goes beyond justice. Nevertheless, this principle of justice is one which Christians recognize as fundamental to the social and economic order.

5) Fellowship. It is often said that man is a social animal. He is made to have fellowship not only with God but with other people. All human relations may be regarded as various forms of fellowship. Two people dig potatoes: one may pick them from the ground while the other holds the sack. They chat as they work. Their work becomes a basis for fellowship. In other words, undertaking a task in common, they are in communion with one another. That's where community begins, at the level of sharing work or bread or play. It rises to higher levels when people hold in common their ideals, their desires and their loves. A society is a network of such

fellowships. When these bonds are strong the society is strong. When they are strained and finally suvered, then society itself breaks down.

In wartime a nation may achieve special unity through the dominance of patriotic fellowships when people^{rally} around the heroes of the past, the flag etc. In peacetime however, one of the most important bases for the unity of a nation is the economic one. Is there good fellowship in the world of economics? One could hardly say so today in view of bitter feuds between Capital and Labour, the disaffection of employer and employee in so many businesses, suspicion of "white collar people" by unskilled labour and cut-throat practice of business against business.

Christians cannot be content with an economy based solely on a competetive spirit. Competition is a legitimate element in the business world; but it overreaches itself when left alone. For Christians, the guiding principles of economics must be mutual understanding and co-operation. We are bidden to love our fellowmen. In the world of economics our love will be meaningless sentiment unless expressed in and through the actual economic relationships between persons. Here is our test of any economic order or of any arrangement within the order: does it make or break a real fellowship among people?

TOWARDS WORLD ORDER

Chapter VII

TOWARDS WORLD ORDER

Basil Mathews related how "the change from wearing long hair to having it bobbed threw a whole countryside of women-folk out of work in China, for they had made the silk hair-nets for millions of Western blondes and brunettes". Thus one part of our world is linked to another. Most of us can cite instances of how the nations have been drawn together by economic ties. We know too that modern communications have contracted the world until it seems a small place indeed. Our world is a neighbourhood. We do in fact live together. This is the One World theme with which we are all so familiar.

But the great question of the age is: "How can we stay living together?" Can we survive a neighbourhood brawl in the modern world? The old methods of settling international disputes in isolated battles fought by professional soldiers are now obsolete. A skirmish anywhere has world-wide significance and may easily develop into world proportions. Millions of civilians are involved in the struggle and suffer untold hardship in its wake. And now there appears the possibility of destruction devastating beyond the range of the average man's imagination. These who know most about atomic energy seriously admit that it is theoretically possible for man to induce the disintegration of the planet itself. It's a stark alternative. Either we discover means

of living at peace with one another or we resign ourselves to complete extinction.

Some people are not bothered by the thought of extinction because they have lost all interest in life and possess no faith in its final goal. They will drink the bitter cup and be done. Others are actually afraid, afraid for their own skins. The Christian, however, is not concerned about annihilation as such. He can face death with courage, having faith in another order of life beyond death. Even so, Christians are concerned about immorality in this world. And when scientific discoveries greatly increase man's power, it is a vital question whether that power will be exercised for good or ill. In an atomic age both the devil and the angels rejoice at their improved opportunities

Chrisitan faith approaches the human problem with realism. On the one hand it faces the fact of human sin. Man does sin against God and his neighbour: not surprising then that there is injustice, strife and oppression. On the other hand, the Christian view of man made in God's own image and of Christ's work for his redemption persuades us that God's will shall finally prevail, even among men. We have a right, therefore, to work for brotherhood, in international affairs, leaving the outcome to Providence.

The present chapter describes conditions which must be met before world order is possible. Let us call them the foundations of world order. While they are intended to be

consistent with Christian teaching, it is assumed that hosts of non-Christians will give their assent. Happily so ! since Christians must have some basis for action in common with others. The distinctively Christian contribution to world order will be dealt with later in this chapter.

1. Spiritual Foundations

a) Unifying Ideals People will live and work together only if they can agree on certain fundamentals. A basket-ball team, for instance, will hold together as a team only if all the players agree on certain methods of play and cooperate to play in that manner. By the same token the peoples of the world can live in harmony only if they accept certain basic viewpoints in common! The need has been expressed in a variety of high-sounding phrases. The Malvern Conference, a semi-official group of experts in England declare that adherence to the new world order should not rest on economics or race or language but upon acceptance of certain basic moral values. A church body in America speaks of it as a new international ethos. (1) An economics professor describes it as "a common consensus of conviction" (2) But they all are driving at the same idea; and in principle, it's the same thing that members of the basketball team experience when they're working as a team.

In all quarters we find an effort to identify those ideals and ideas which all peoples might reasonably be ex-

(1) *A Just and Durable Peace, Federal Council of Churches p. 34*
(2) *Quoting Prof. George Schwarzenberger, University of London*

pected to accept. And there has been some progress. Take some examples. It is generally agreed by Christians and non-Christians, first: That mankind is one in nature. All spring from the same root. While there are individual differences between any two persons, there is no reason for regarding one as inherently superior to the other. Each should have an opportunity to live and work and enjoy leisure. Second, it is widely recognized that in an interdependent world it is in our own interest (if for no other reason) to accept responsibility for one another. A third idea which has gained acceptance on a world scale is the Golden Rule: "Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you". Almost in spite of themselves, men have come to realize that this is a rule which must guide them in their relations with one another. Hard-headed economists support paring down of reparation demands, reduction of tariff barriers and disguised means of giving goods away, such as the U.S. lend-lease policy during world War II. Without great ideals like this, worked out in permanent practice, there can be no international unity. Belief in the common humanity of man, responsibility for one another, the golden rule and other basic moral ideals happen to be essentials for world order.

b) The Will to Achieve World Order: We may know a great deal about the need for world peace. We may have found considerable ground of agreement among the people's of the

earth as to how they should behave towards one another. But if we have no will to work for peace, then all else counts for nothing. The will to do ! Here is a spiritual factor required in every endeavour. Sportsmen call it the "will to win"; doctors refer to it as the "will to live". However described, it's ESSENTIAL !

How much do you want peace? This is the test question put to the will. If you want it enough, you will pay for it with toil and sacrifice. You will be willing to give up much that you have held dear and to accept many public changes which go against the grain of private liking.

Today there is a groping towards world peace and order. The common man desires peace. Industrialists (most of them) want it, if only for reasons of security. Scientists have at last been willing to risk reputations in their plans for it. And millions pray for peace-----some fearing destruction; others, impelled by the love of God in their hearts. Someday perchance all these mingling voices will be blended to fashion a new world order in the name of peace. "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God". (1)

c) Cleansing the Spirit: "Maybe I shouldn't feel this way", says one, "but I just hate Germans and Jews". That phrase "maybe I shouldn't", suggests the average man's awareness that before peace can be an accomplished fact

something has to happen deep down inside. There must be a change of heart which yields a changed outlook. Even those who have renounced religion admit the necessity of changed attitudes. They are reluctant to identify the problem as a "Spiritual" one, so they employ other terms. The great majority of peace-loving people would agree with the war-time statement of Pope Pius XII in which he declared some indispensable requirements of peaceful world order:

"One, triumph over hate-----Two, triumph over mistrust-----Three, triumph over the distressing principle that utility is a basis of law and right, and that might makes right-----Four, triumph over those germs of conflict which consist in two-sided differences in the field of world economy (insure proper standard of living to every state) -----Five, triumph over the spirit of cold egoism (1)

We have been considering the problems concerning what someone has called the inner front; and we have identified certain spiritual foundations necessary to world order. What about requirements of the more "practical" kind.

2. Political Foundations

International peace cannot be founded on good will *only*. The most pious hopes of men must yet be implemented through practical channels of organization. Sentiments of peace and good-will must be crystalized into rules recognized by the nations. This is the prevailing mood, that the nations can promote a stable peace only by enter-

(1) Speech delivered by Pope Pius XII December 1940, as reported in "A Just and durable Peace"

ing into some working partnership which is more than merely a formal treaty. This is the thought behind the United Nations Organization. Observe the preamble to its Charter:

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
DETERMINED

To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and

To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and

To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and

To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

AND FOR THESE ENDS

To practise tolerance and live together in peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and

To employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all people,

HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS
TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter for the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

Those who formed the United Nations were particularly concerned about the political foundations of world order. They did not start from scratch. The nations already had considerable experience in operating world-wide agencies. Specialized services such as the International Postal Sep-

vice, the International Labour Office and the Health Organization of the League of Nations had been working successfully for many years. Even the failure of the League itself sharpened the wits of those who gathered at San Francisco in 1944. In fact, it is unfair to say that the League failed. Rather, the nations failed the League by giving priority to selfish ambitions. However that may be, a reservoir of experience had been built up toward another grand effort to establish peace.

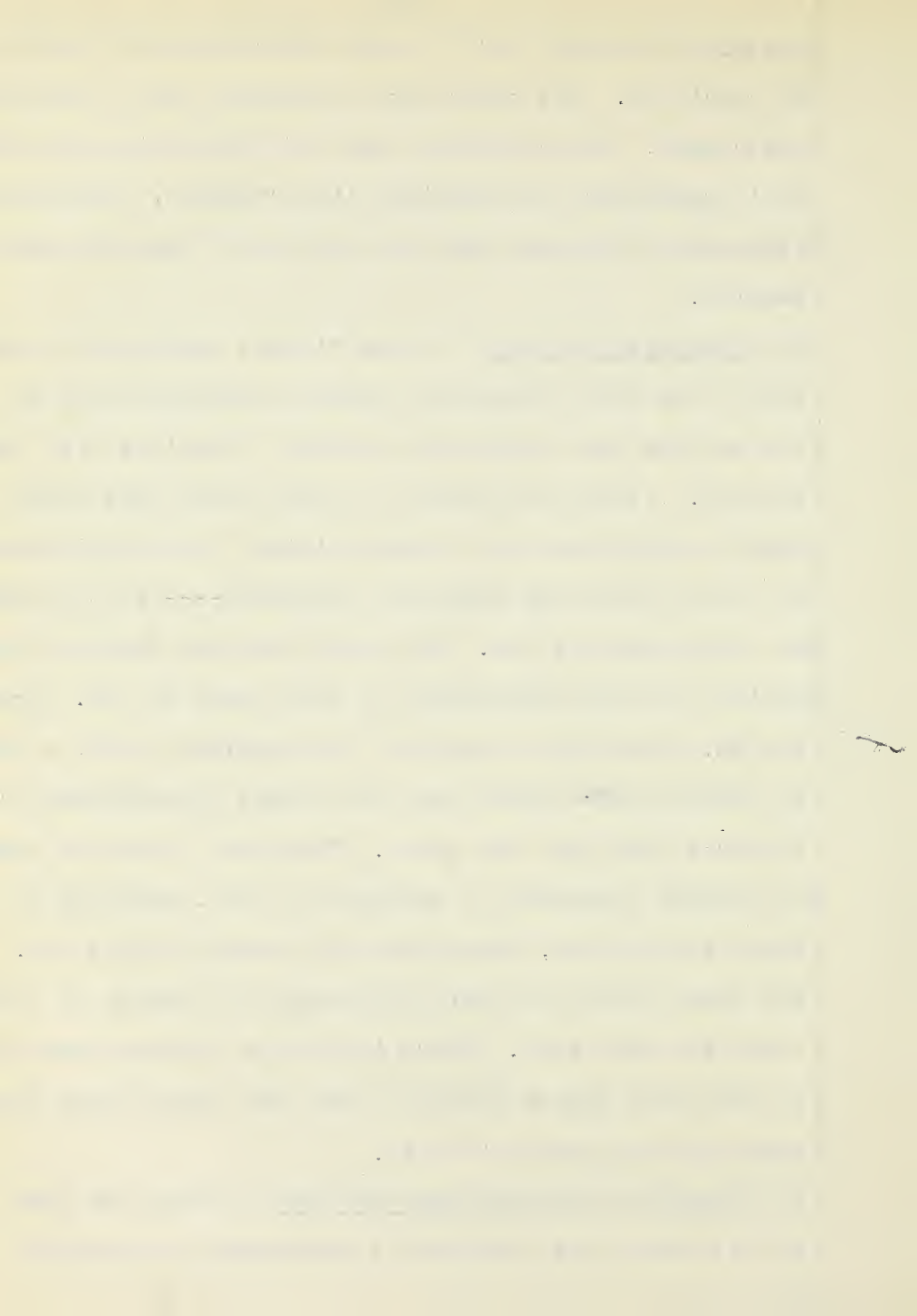
We shall attempt now to identify the fundamental political requirements of world order; and to suggest to what extent these requirements have been met.

1). A Meeting Place: This is a first necessity, a place for national representatives to discuss their common problems, air disputes and seek agreement. In its General Assembly the United Nations Organization does provide the proper instrument. Even in its infancy the General Assembly has proven a worthy sounding board of world opinion. With the proper co-operation of journalists and radio reporters each nation is speedily informed as to where the others stand on a particular question. Information is not confined to government officials. The people themselves may know and weigh world problems. One of the happiest features of the Assembly is the manner in which it has fostered open diplomacy and plain-speaking. There is less sham and secrecy. Moreover, in the open discussions of the

Assembly the great moral issues confronting the world may be clarified. The conscience of mankind can be touched and aroused. We are within reach of maintaining an informed world conscience on questions like refugees, immigration, diplomatic relations and other points of international tension.

2) A Legislative Body: It goes without saying that there will be no world stability without recognized laws by which the nations may be governed in their relations with one another. It can be assumed in other words that world peace must be maintained in a manner similar to the maintenance of order within any nation or community---- by the enactment and enforcement of law. The United Nations Charter does not provide for world government in this sense at all. True, the U.N. recognizes so-called "International Law", a body of regulations agreed upon at various international conferences held over the years. They have to do for instance with humane treatment of prisoners of war, handling of mandated territories, recognition of coastal waters etc. etc. But these rules are really observed as a matter of convenience and good will. There is nothing binding about them in the sense that a breach of the rule would bring punishment by recognized authority.

3) A Method of Determining Justice: If rules and laws are to be used at all (whether as enforceable legislation or as



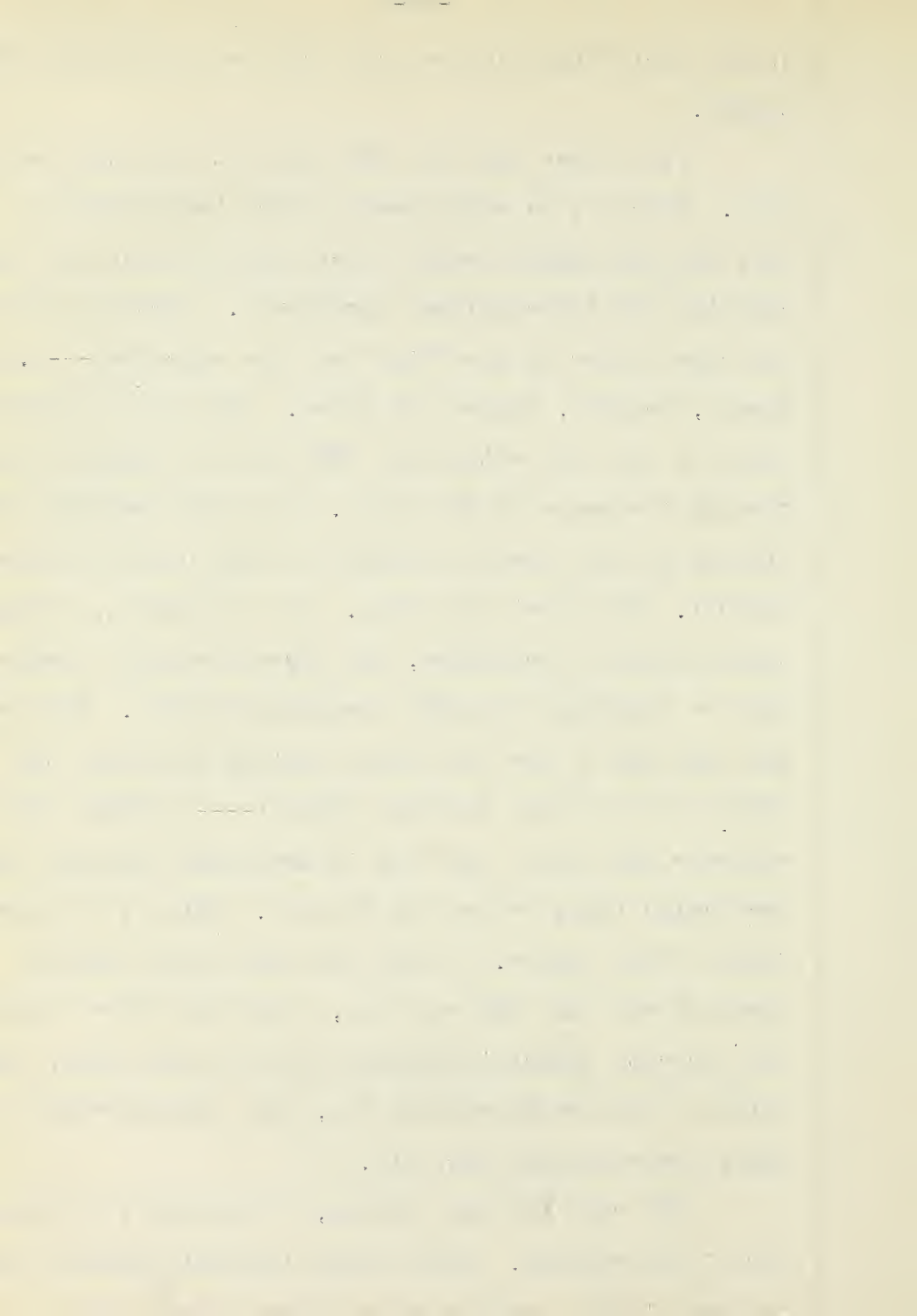
agreed customs) there will be times when a decision must be reached as to who has transgressed the law. In any dispute between nations some agency must decide the rights and wrongs of the case. After the First World War such an agency was set up at The Hague; there an international court systematized existing regulations and was prepared to sit in judgment on any case brought to it voluntarily by disputing nations or referred to it by the League of Nations. Accordingly, the United Nations have incorporated into their organization an International Court of Justice. It consists of fifteen judges elected by the General Assembly.

4) A Means of Enforcement: When an opinion graduates to general acceptance as law, it automatically carries some weight. The very fact that a majority opinion stands behind a law gives it a subtle power. Then again, laws exercise a moral force in the minds of citizens and nations who value their moral prestige in the eyes of the world. But neither of these elements is sufficient to make laws effective in all cases. Experience shows that before they will be observed with care there must be at least the possibility of physical enforcement. The presence of a police force in Canada, for example, not only ensures punishment for lawbreakers and protection for the average citizen but also is a deterrent of lawlessness which might otherwise occur. There must be similar enforcement of law

on the world plane before order can be permanently maintained.

It is here that the UNO shows its greatest weakness. There is no enforcement agency independent of the very nations against which force might be directed in carrying out international agreements. Certainly this is the case as far as the "big five" are concerned---U.S.A., Russia, Britain, France and China. They have permanent seats on the body within the UNO which is charged with keeping the peace of the world. Six other nations are elected by the General Assembly to make up this Security Council. But here's the snag. On all matters, except those purely of procedure, the ~~five~~ permanent members must be unanimous to make a decision binding. This means that any one of the five great nations can block the effort of the whole Security Council----a likely event whenever any one of the five is seriously involved in the particular issue before the Council. This is the now famous "veto" power. It was the most hotly debated question when the UNO was born. The Veto Power weakens the Security Council's chances of enforcing peace; but unless it had been provided for, some nations would probably have withdrawn entirely.

The root of the problem, of course is the age-old one of sovereignty. Each nation jealously guards its right to make all its own decisions unless it happens to be con-



venient to let others **decide**. In other words, each desires to be a law unto itself. That's what it means to retain one's complete sovereignty. Its retention by separate nations is a continual threat to peace. Conversely, when the nations are willing to ^{en}relinquish some measure of their sovereignty world peace will be possible.

If we may thus speak of a root problem, the analogy can be carried further. This root grows in the soil of difference and suspicion. It's a difference of political outlook. Look at the supreme case in point: Can Russian Communism and Western Democracy live at peace in the same world? That's the question which cuts across our post-war effort to establish the political foundations of world order. Some say: "No". Stalin is reported to have said in 1947: "Yes". But the real answer remains to be seen.

The ultimate requirements is a properly constituted world government, with various divisions of legislation, administration etc. That is the obvious goal to aim for. Meanwhile, we must work with what we have---The United Nations Organization.

3. Economic Foundations

"We believe that economic security is no less essential than politics security to a just and durable peace." So runs the report of the National Study Conference held in Delaware, Ohio, in 1942 convened by A Commission of the Federal Council of Churches in America. The Conference included outstanding Protestant men and women, who underlined again the spiritual significance of the economic conditions under which people actually live.

The finest conceivable world political structure could not guarantee world peace so long as economic injustice exists. For these injustices create tensions liable at any time to burst into violent upheaval.

What injustices? What tensions? Well, most of them can be seen in the fact that a few nations dominate the world's wealth, while others struggle to claim their share. At the moment, for instance, United States, Russia and Great Britain are dominant. They own or control the world's sources of raw materials and world markets to a degree far in excess of the percentage of world population. The peoples of India, China and Japan have much less. They are forced to exist on a lower standard of living.

Some people try to avoid the issue by blaming the poorer nations as "backward", whose unintelligent and lazy habits reap a proper reward. Conversely, the more enterprising peoples are supposed, fully to merit on what they have gained in time past. Of course such sentiments don't

ring true in Christian conscience. However, conscience or no conscience, the less fortunate nations live for the day when they may take their proper place in the sun by force. Their insistent demand for economic equality is a threat to world peace as long as inequalities remain.

Meanwhile, even the great possessing powers eye one another with suspicion, lest the one outdo the other in the race for predominant power. Thus the tension of greed for economic gain is added to the more legitimate tension of struggle for economic equality. These are sources of international friction and open warfare.

Nothing short of removing the economic imbalance among the nations will make peace possible. Easier said than done? Yes !But it's achievement is a must on the road to peace. Surely, Christians need no persuasion that this is a proper objective, even though the ways and means are not yet clear.

The notion of Christian stewardship gives proper guidance at this point. The resources of the earth are God's gifts to be used to his glory and in the service of all his children. Even rich natural resources discovered in our native land cannot be regarded as lucky finds for ourselves only, but as providential gifts for all. This is no sentimental talk but hard fact. To ignore it means final ruin. To follow it brings us one step nearer to peace and order in the world.

4. Some Immediate Tasks: a) There should be no delay about relief. Millions of God's children suffer cold and hunger as a result of war or natural catastrophe like famine and flood. We are called to exercise compassion for brothers in need. It's also a matter of self-preservation, since poverty breeds disease and war which threatens us all. There will always be occasions when relief is a first necessity. It is needed to-day on a scale never known before.

The fact that governments, private agencies and churches are operating giant schemes of relief is one evidence of hope in a despairing world. There is no excuse whatever for Canadians to miss this opportunity to share through measures of relief. b) Rehabilitation differs from relief. Rehabilitation programs are designed to help people help themselves. Consider the rehabilitation of France or Italy. Other nations have to help them restore railway lines, telephone systems, health services and perhaps make huge loans to set the wheels of industry in motion again. Only as war-torn nations are re-established can the channels of world trade be open again. In this connection, it is important also that former enemy countries be not burdened too heavily with demands for reparation payments. Amounts set should take into account the ability of a people to produce over and above a humane standard of living. Any nation overcharged in a reparation plan becomes both a snag in world trade and a hotbed of discontent.

to threaten the peace.

Some Long-range objectives: Economic conferences sponsored by governments, Churches and other agencies have laid down objectives which are not immediately attainable but which ought to be goals for the future. A few are listed: 1) raise the living standards of the poorer nations 2) Make important raw materials equally accessible to all nations. 3) Keep channels of trade as open and free as possible-----" a genuine interchange of materially needed commodities must take the place of a struggle for a so-called favourable balance". (1) 4) Devise a universal system of exchange and a world bank.

These are some of the problems facing the United Nations Organization. They are the special concern of the Economic and Social Council within the U.N.O. structure. The very existence of this Council is testimony to the widespread conviction that world order must rest on economic as well as political and spiritual foundations.

5. THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

When the Roman Empire was falling apart, an ancient writer declared: "The world is old, and not even Caesar can make her young again." He was right; but he could not know that Christian forces were already founding the spiritual bases of a new society.

The empires of our day are likewise due for destruc-

(1) From the report of the Malvern Conference, England.

tion unless some pattern of world order can be established. We have endeavoured thus far to make that clear. We proceed now to ask: What is the Church doing about this business of world order?

At the outset it should be said firmly that the Christian Church was not initiated expressly to promote an international peace program or to set up a new order in the political sense. True, Christianity has a world program: to proclaim a message of good news about God in Christ. It has world objectives in the sense that it is open to all men. Those who accept it live in a new fellowship with one another because of their new relationship with God through Christ. This is the new society whose final purpose is already seen: "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever." (1)

Political internationalism, on the other hand, has a different goal, namely; a world authority to which all nations would owe allegiance and by which they would be controlled in their relations toward one another. It is to be achieved by processes of mutual agreement, compromise and even by force in some cases. Once established it must be maintained according to laws which have the sanction of force behind them. World order of this sort is quite different from the Kingdom described in Chapter III which " cometh not with observation ". (2)

To distinguish between the political problem of world order and the Christian objective for all mankind is by no means to say that they are unrelated. Quite the opposite is the case. Christianity is peculiarly compatible with the present movement towards world order. In fact, Christian forces make some supremely important contributions. Let us examine them:

L. By Declaring the Oneness of All Men

The story is told of an Indian lad in a mission school who prayed before his examination: "Oh Lord, help me to pass my examination. May the whole class pass. May the whole school pass. May the whole world pass." We smile at the incident, but it does reveal two important elements in Christian experience. First, the Christian feels impelled to share with others the things he most wants for himself. Be it food or health or ideas, he will share insofar as he allows free play to Christian impulses. Second, this Christian concern for the welfare of others reaches out to all peoples. It knows no discrimination.

Elsewhere in these studies (especially in Chapter V) we have noted that Christian faith emphasizes the essential dignity of all men under God. They spring from the same source. "He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on the face of the earth". (1)

Their needs and interests are essentially the same.

In other words, Christians recognize a "natural" basis for the unity of mankind. It's a basis which should not be confused with the stricter notion of Christian brotherhood. When the Apostle Paul speaks of "brothers in Christ", he means what he says. He is refering to a special relationship of intimacy which can be known only to Christians -----those who hold Christ in common. To speak of all men as being brothers in that sense is simply wrong.

It is important for Christians to see that while they celebrate a brotherhood in Christ, and while they look for "a city-----whose builder and maker is God", they must at the same time have a basis on which to work with non-Christians in the struggle for world peace. Conviction of the oneness of all men is a good minimum basis for action by all men. Take an example of how it works: When the Nazi occupation forces in Holland ordered all Jews to wear a special badge of identification, large numbers of Christians appeared on the streets wearing the same insignia. An impulse which is distinctly Christian thereby established the solidarity of men as men, regardless of religion.

It is this principle which operates when Christians raise their voices against the oppression of conquered Japan or the exploitation of the native population in South

Africa. Admittedly, the Church has often been silent in the face of such evils; but she has also been the custodian of a message which stands in judgment even over her own life. It is this voice of judgment which has been heard so strongly through her councils and among her far-flung membership in recent years. The Church has proclaimed the oneness of all men, with good effect. Without this idea firmly fixed in men's minds, they will look in vain for world order.

2. By Delivering the Captive Man

When Jesus began his ministry one of his first acts was to align himself with a program laid down by the prophet Isaiah:

The spirit of the Lord is upon me
Because he hath annointed me
to preach good tidings to the poor:
He hath sent me
to proclaim release to the captives, and
recovering of sight to the blind,
to set at liberty them that are bruised,
to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord. (1)

Throughout his ministry Jesus exercised compassion upon suffering humanity. He led people out of ignorance into the glorious wisdom of God. He healed the sick and freed tormented minds from the powers of darkness. His was a liberating influence over body, mind and spirit.

When the Apostles received their Lord's command to go and teach all nations, they rightly assumed that he meant the gospel to touch the whole of life. So the Church has succeeded to the ministry of her Lord, healing the sores

(1) Luke 4: 16-22

of the world and letting light into dark places.

Now the point to observe is this: In exercising her own appointed mission, the Church has been an important factor in preparing the soil for world order.....especially in carrying the gospel to so-called backward peoples. These people have long been an obstacle to world peace. They constitute a stumbling block to the great powers who are continually tempted to exploit their weaker fellows and to battle with one another over the spoils. Moreover, so long as some nations remain ignorant and undeveloped they will be unable to share responsibility for any sort of world administration.

The Christian missionary enterprise has served these peoples; and never more fruitfully than in the past century. Since the days of William Carey in India and the Moffats of Africa, an ever-broadening stream of missionary endeavour has been carried to the four corners of the globe. In its effort to evangelize the world for Christ, it inevitably carried with it Christ's compassion for men in every area of their need. If they were ill, Christ's healing was worked through the Christian doctor, the mission hospital and community health programs. He fed multitudes of the hungry because through deliberate missionary instruction in skills of modern agricultural science. Christ has brought light and hope to millions of men and women as they

have learned for the first time to read and write their own language. The Church has in fact spear-headed the world-wide attack on ignorance and illiteracy.

The Christian Church has gone into all the world to bring spiritual liberty to millions who had been haunted by extreme poverty and superstition, harried by hunger and disease, robbed by land-lords and money-lenders, exploited by bad governments. Masses of people are thus raised to a new level of self-respect. They are becoming conscious of themselves as people who can claim rights but must also exercise responsibilities in the world of nations. This is the political significance of the propagation of the gospel. It should not be overlooked in assessing the forces which make world order an attainable goal.

3. By Demonstrating the Unity of All Christians

Future generations will probably point to the ecumenical movement of the churches as one of the most important features of our age. They will review a very strange paradox: While the world has been torn apart by two world wars, the Christian churches around the globe have been drawn closer together. The Church has risen above the churches. It is our contention that this trend towards the unity of all Christians has profound bearing upon the struggle to achieve unity among the nations.

What is this movement which goes by so strange a name

-----ecumenical? Let's look at its background. Since the Protestant Reformation there has been a progressive breaking up of the Church into units called denominations of sects. Sometimes the breaks have resulted from differences over petty matters, in which case the Lord of the Church has been dishonoured, and Christians should seek forgiveness. In most cases, however, there were good reasons of conscience for the hiving off process. Undue political influence exercised through the church, or immoral church administration-----these sometimes led to the formation of separate denominations. Others were founded upon new insights of faith and practice which met with immovable opposition from the leaders of a particular church. Over the years the Church has spawned churches literally by the hundreds.

The tide has lately turned. The churches have been feeling their way together again. Some contributing factors may be listed briefly: 1) Time always eases tensions, especially where personal feelings may have played too great a role in separation. 2) Differences at one time, rightly counted important are rendered less so by changing conditions. 3) Hard physical facts have sometimes forced denominations to work together. Witness the building of Union Churches in pioneer Western Canada when populations were scattered and finances slim. 4) There is evidence of genuine conscience among Christians of many denominations when

they consider the broken Body of Christ. 5) When new philosophies of life rise to claim the loyalty of mankind, Christians are more ready to waive differences among themselves in order to proclaim Christ as the supreme object of loyalty. 6) In a divided world Christians have rediscovered the power of their fellowship to hurdle barriers which otherwise keep them apart.

Observe briefly some of the great landmarks of the ecumenical movement. One of them is the person of John R Mott. On his first world journey at the close of the nineteenth century, Dr. Mott founded Christian student associations in country after country; linked established organizations to create the World Student Christian Federation. This body has for fifty years been producing outstanding leaders for the world church. We should also mention the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910, followed by the creation of National Christian Councils in twenty-six countries. These bodies met again in 1928 at Jerusalem and in 1938 at Madras. Meanwhile, the leaders of most non-Roman communions were meeting at Lausanne in 1927 and Edinburgh in 1937 to discuss problems of Christian unity on Faith and Order-----what the Church believes and how the Church is organized. Questions as to how the Church should confront social issues were studied by other conferences on Life and Work at Stockholm in 1927 and at Oxford in 1937. Thus we see a stream of thought and activity to which there

were many tributaries.

Special mention should be made of youth's part. They had a major share in the movement from the beginning. The first World Christian Youth Conference in Amsterdam in 1939 and the second in Oslo (1947) were merely visible peaks of youth's effort.

The year 1948 is marked as one of fulfilment. The vision of a World Council of Churches was finally brought to fruition. The new World Council has the task of consolidating all the gains of the past. It must also confront much unfinished business. Absence of the great Roman Church from the fellowship is a problem by itself. Relations of the World Council to other international agencies must be worked out. Above all, means must be found whereby the rank-and-file Christian will become aware of his world connections and then give that moral support without which the Ecumenical Church will be like an empty shell. The present movement requires to be strengthened by lesser groups and millions of individual Christians. It needs the work of many hands, and voices mingled in prayer that all may be one. Then and then only will there be a broad program of reconciliation among men who regard themselves as political or national enemies.

We have touched on the causes underlying the ecumenical movement. They are a matter of history; some of them are material, some spiritual. Those who are closest to the

movement, are convinced that the Holy Spirit has been active throughout. They continue to seek God's guidance in a process which they believe is inspired by him and designed to serve his purposes in the world.

For the peace and order of the world, the ecumenical movement has undoubted importance. First, the Churches have gone far beyond other bodies in taking practical steps towards unity. Political, racial, cultural and even religious differences have been faced frankly without yielding their divisive power. The churches have given the world a demonstration of unity which it sorely needs. They are showing that unity is no mere pipe-dream; that it is a possibility. If the Churches can bridge great gulfs which have kept men apart so long, then there is yet hope for growing unity among the nations.

Second, the ecumenical movement has helped to shape the attitudes of the average citizen in regard to world order. Discussions begun by the movement, and the literature it has produced, have overflowed the bounds of church circles. Many a Christian pamphlet has strengthened that body of public opinion which moves by desire and will towards the realization of a peaceful world.

Third, the ecumenical movement has not only developed spiritual ties throughout the world; it has created an organization which exists to foster those ties. In-

stitutions possess staying power of a peculiar sort. The very existence of a world-wide institution constitutes one more set of forces holding the world together. The world Church has a stake in world order.

One word of counsel: While from both the spiritual and the institutional points of view the ecumenical movement provides a kind of international cement for the world, we should not assume that there lies its chief purpose. The churches have not suddenly become ecumenical in outlook just to promote world order. However, since the true Church is an ecumenical Church, it does happen, to serve this greatest of the world's current needs.

The Church, which is now in reality a world community, may be used of God to develop His spirit of righteousness and love in every race and nation, and then to make possible a just and durable peace. For this service Christians must now dedicate themselves, seeking forgiveness for their sins and the constant guidance and help of God. (1)

4. By Developing the World Citizen

During World War II a question was put to Sir Alfred Zimmern, the famous Oxford Professor of International Relations: "What is the greatest obstacle that stands in the way of the establishment of enduring world peace?". He gave a startling reply: "The small-scale individual." (2)

The small scale individual is a person whose outlook

(1) A Message from the National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace, Delaware, Ohio (1942) P. 13
(2) The Church in the Changing World Basil Mathews p. 78

is so narrow that he cannot or will not look beyond his own selfish desires to comprehend the needs of his neighbour. When this sort of person dominates life, strife is inevitable. He is our chief problem. His littleness may defeat the greatest world-cause yet known. What can we do about him? Can he be changed so that he looks upon the world in a large-hearted way? How quickly we are forced to phrase world issues in terms of the oldest religious problem ! How do we get the new man?

The more the minds of men grapple with the political and economic problems of reconstruction, the clearer it becomes that the deepest needs are not met on this plane. The despair, fear and revenge which must inevitably possess much of the world are not to be cast out save by divine forgiveness and release of which the Church, not by its merits but by God's ordinance, is the messenger and trustee. More important than economic and political planning is the re-creation of broken men and women, the supplanting of hopelessness by hope, of revenge by forgiveness, of fear by love. No scheme of international reconstruction can avail that does not rest upon and arise out of minds that desire world fellowship and have banished hatred and schemes of mere national self-aggrandisement. Without such spiritual foundation no enduring structure can be built and it is not a foundation that men can lay for themselves, but only as they come to the knowledge of their dependence upon God and are able to receive his enabling power. (1)

It is always the Church's business to open the flood-gates to God's power in Christ to make the "new creature".

(1) The Christian Church and World Order-----A statement by the Commission of the Churches for International Friendship and Social Responsibility (Great Britain) 1942. S.C.M. Press.

She has shown marked success, despite numerous persons whose Christian claims are forcefully denied by their own shrivelled spirits. Christ has broadened the horizons of men and enlarged their sympathies. Christ's "new man" is remarkably suited to the present time, when it is required that each man's understanding must embrace the whole world. The true Christian becomes the world citizen even before the world becomes a community. This may be a comparatively recent insight in Christian history, but that's the habit of Christian truth: to reveal a way for the times.

Basil Mathews has aptly remarked that the Church's business is to create the creators of world order. He says so in confidence that this is precisely what the Church is doing on a very large scale. But he is not content to list only the great names like John R. Mott, whose influence as world citizens is so easily recognized:

You and I, to whatever communion we may belong, are fellow-members of that comradeship of the disciples of Jesus, who across the centuries, and today across the whole wide world, hold as the central truth of our lives the words which the first Christians told each other nineteen hundred years ago, "Jesus is Lord". As the only world-wide community of all races and nations now living among mankind, as the greatest Community that has even existed; and as the one Community that in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man has the only secure eternal foundations for world peace, we are called to harness all our powers to the spread of His discipleship to embrace all mankind. (1)

Nation with nation, land with land,
Unarmed shall live as comrades free;
In every heart and brain shall throb
The pulse of one fraternity. (1)

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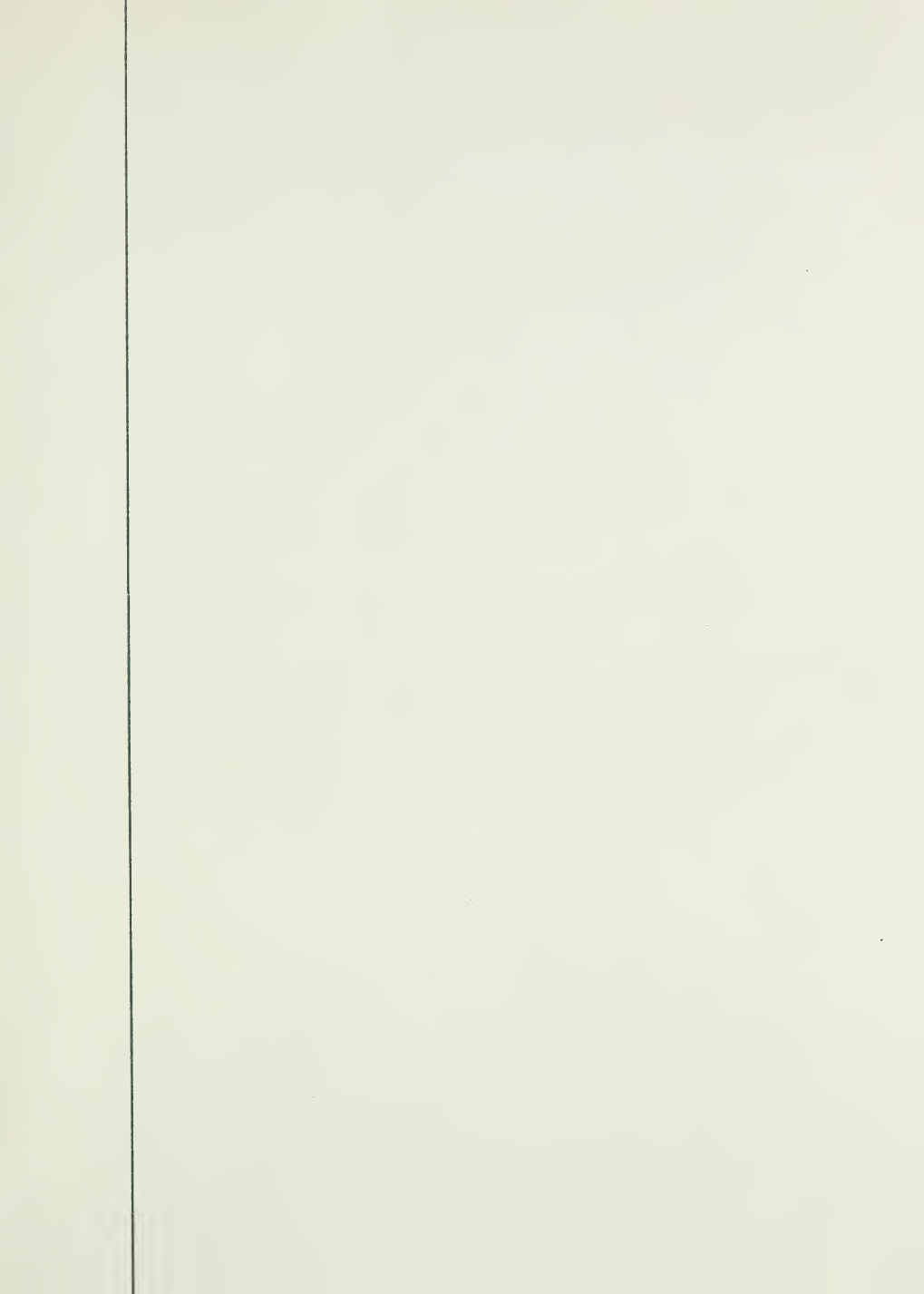
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